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THE

ATTIC NIGHTS

OF

AULUS GELLIUS:

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE REV. W. BELOE, F. S. A.

TRANSLATOR OF HERODOTUS, &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The reply of Chryſippus to thoſe who denied a Providence.

[1] *THEY who think that the world was not produced on account of the Deity and of man, and deny that human affairs are governed by Providence, think*

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think that they urge a powerful argument when they aſſert, that if there were a Providence there would be no evils. For nothing, they affirm, can be leſs conſiſtent with a Providence, than that in that world, on account of which the Deity is ſaid to have created man, there ſhould exiſt ſo great a number of calamities and evils. Chryſippus, in his fourth

tome ejuſdem operis in libro uno ανεφαλον *." Lactantius flouriſhed in the fourth century; before the end of which St. Jerome wrote his Catalogue. But in the year 1712, Profeſſor Pfaffius found a MS. at Turin, that had been complete, but by accident had ſince loſt five chapters. To this edition our readers are indebted for the ſupplement; in conſideration of which they are requeſted favourably to receive, or at leaſt to pardon this little digreſſion.

In ſome manuſcripts we are given to underſtand, that this book was placed after the ſeventh.—This can be of no importance.—Many and perplexing are the diſputes concerning Fate and Providence, among the ancient philoſophers; each, perhaps, containing ſomething to admire and approve, but reſembling an unpoliſhed gem, enveloped by extraneous matter, which obſcured and defaced its beauty. The opinions of theſe ſects will be found accurately detailed in Enfield's Hiſtory of Philoſophy.—On theſe ſubjects, ingenious and pleaſing as the inveſtigation of them may be, our beſt knowledge is the knowledge of ourſelves, and our trueſt virtue reſignation to the order of Providence.

Hope humbly, then—with trembling pinions ſoar,
Wait the great teacher Death, and God adore!

In pride, in reaſoning pride, our error lies,
All quit their ſphere, and ruſh into the ſkies.

* The common reading is ανεφάλω, but a Paris MS. 900 years old gives the reading which I have quoted.

book concerning Providence, diſputing againſt theſe, obſerves that nothing can be more abſurd or fooliſh than their opinion, who think that there can be good, without the exiſtence of evil. For as good is contrary to evil, and it is neceſſary that both ſhould exiſt, oppoſite to each other, and as it were dependent upon mutual and oppoſite exertions, ſo there can be no oppoſing thing exiſt, without its particular oppoſite. For how could there be a ſenſe of juſtice, if there were no injuſtice? or what indeed is juſtice, but the abſence of injuſtice? In like manner what can we imagine of fortitude, but as oppoſed to puſillanimity? What of temperance, but from intemperance? What would prudence be, but for its oppoſite imprudence? Why alſo ſhould unwiſe men not require this, that there ſhould exiſt truth, and not falſehood? In like manner exiſt good and evil, happineſs and miſery, pain and pleaſure. Each, as Plato remarks, is confined to the other by contrary and oppoſing vortices [2], ſo that if you remove one you take away the other. This Chryſippus in the ſame book

[2] *Vortices.*]—This doctrine is the diſtinction of the Carteſian philoſophy, where it was applied to explain the phænomena of the heavenly bodies. That it is inadequate to this, is what admits of mathematical proof. Theſe vortices exiſt in imagination only; the principle which actually and ſatisfactorily explains theſe phænomena is known to have exiſtence in nature, and that is gravity. Notes on the ſubject of this chapter might be extended to an infinite length;

book examines, inveſtigates, and thinks it an important ſubject of enquiry, whether the imperfections of men are according to nature; that is, whether the ſame nature and Providence which formed this univerſe and the race of men, created alſo the defects and diſorders to which men are ſubject. He thinks that it was not the firſt deſign of Providence to make men obnoxious to diſorders, for this never could be conſiſtent with the Author of nature, and the Creator of all good things. But as, he continues, he produced and formed many and great things, moſt convenient and uſeful, there are other kindred inconveniences, adhering to the things which he created. Theſe he ſays were not produced by nature, but by certain neceſſary conſequences, which he denominates κατα παρακολουθησιν.—Thus he remarks, when nature creates the bodies of men, a more ſubtle cauſe, and the very uſefulneſs of his work, required that the head ſhould be compoſed of certain very minute and very delicate bones; but another external inconvenience attached to this uſefulneſs in ſomewhat of more importance, that the head was leſs ſubſtantially defended, and was liable to be broken by blows and ſlight reſiſtances.—In like manner diſorders and ſickneſs are obtained whilſt health is produced. And thus it is, he remarked, that when, by the

and I ſhould certainly have indulged myſelf with ſome greater latitude, did I not fear to exceed the limits preſcribed me.

purpoſe

purpoſe of nature, virtue is created for man, defects are alſo at the ſame time produced by a contrary affinity.

CHAP. II.[1]

How the ſame perſon proved the power and neceſſity of Fate, and yet that we poſſeſſed a free will and free agency.

CHRYSIPPUS, the prince of the Stoics, defines Fate, which the Greeks call πεπρωμενη or ειμαρμενη, nearly in this manner: Fate, ſays he, is a certain immutable and eternal ſeries

[1] All the ancient philoſophers held different opinions with reſpect to fate or neceſſity; which opinions are too well known to be recapitulated here.—The definition of fate here given by Chryſippus, is thus alluded to by Virgil, Æn. iii. ver. 374.

Nam te majoribus ire per altum
Auſpiciis, manifeſta fides; ſic fata deum rex
Sortitur, *ſolvitque vices:* is vertitur ordo.

Many elegant and pertinent illuſtrations of the ſubjects here diſcuſſed might be introduced from Pope's Eſſay on Man; but as there is every where ſuch a general ſimilarity, ſelection becomes difficult, and it ſeems better to refer the reader generally to that poem; to the critical and philoſo-

ſeries and chain of things, moving and interweaving itſelf in a fixed and eſtabliſhed order of events, with which it is fitted and connected. The very words of Chryſippus I have ſubjoined, as well as my memory would ſuffer me, that if any one ſhall think this my interpretation obſcure, he may refer to the words themſelves. In his fourth book on Providence he ſays, that Fate is a phyſical harmony of all things from eternity, each following the other, and that this combination ſtill neceſſarily and invariably exiſts. The aſſerters of other ſyſtems and opinions object to this definition, thus: If Chryſippus, ſay they, thinks that all things are influenced and governed by Fate, and that the action and order of Fate cannot be affected or changed, the faults and errors of men ought not to be cenſured, nor imputed to them or their inclinations, but to a certain urgency and neceſſity which ariſes from Fate, which is the miſtreſs and arbitreſs of all things, from whoſe agency whatever happens muſt of neceſſity happen. That therefore the puniſhment of crimes is unjuſtly appointed by the laws, if men

phical Commentary upon it, publiſhed by Dr. Warburton; as well as to Enfield's Hiſtory of Philoſophy.

The ſubject will, I think, allow me ſomewhat to enliven the chapter, by relating an anecdote of Zeno: He detected his ſlave in ſome act of theft, and ordered him to be flogged.—The fellow having in mind the dogmas of his maſter, exclaimed, It was fated that I ſhould commit this theft.—And that you ſhould be flogged, replied Zeno.

do

do not voluntarily commit, but are impelled to them by Fate. Againſt ſuch opinions Chryſippus argues with great ſubtlety and acuteneſs. But the ſubſtance of all that he has replied on this ſubject is nearly this: Although it be ſo, ſays he, that all things are neceſſarily connected and compelled by Fate, yet the powers of our minds are no farther ſubject to this Fate, than as they have certain properties and qualities. If they are originally by nature formed well and uſefully, they tranſmit eaſily, and without injury, all the power which they externally derive from Fate. But if they be rough, and ignorant, and rude, ſupported by the props of no good arts, although impreſſed by little or no inconvenience of fatality, yet they are precipitated into frequent errors and diſorders, by their own voluntary unamiableneſs and impetuoſity. And that this ſhould ſo happen is effected by that natural and neceſſary conſequence of things, which is called Fate. For it ſeems to be a fatality and conſequence in the order of things that vicious minds ſhould not be free from faults and errors. He gives an example of this, which ſeems equally pertinent and facetious. If, ſays he, you throw a cylindrical ſtone down a ſteep and inclined plane of the earth, you are the firſt cauſe and origin of its deſcent, but it is ſoon hurried on with increaſing velocity, not becauſe you do this, but becauſe the nature of its rotatory form effects this. Thus the order, and reaſon, and neceſſity of Fate

influences the general principles of cauſes, but it is the peculiar will of each individual, and the conſtitution of our minds, which regulates the force of our mental propenſities, and our conſequent actions.

He then adds theſe words, agreeing with what I have ſaid:

"Therefore it is thus ſaid by the Pythagoreans: Know that men's ſufferings are occaſioned by themſelves. As then each man's defects are occaſioned by himſelf, and all ſin and offend from their own propenſities, they are injured by their own free will and deſign."

For this reaſon he ſays men who are baſe, audacious, and profligate, are not to be regarded or endured, who being convicted of turpitude and crime, fly to the neceſſity of Fate, as to the aſylum of ſome temple, and affirm of their own enormous vices, that they are not to be imputed to their own paſſions, but to Fate. Homer, the moſt wiſe and moſt ancient of poets, has thus expreſſed himſelf:

Perverſe mankind, whoſe wills, created free,
Charge all their woes on abſolute decree;
All to the dooming gods their guilt tranſlate,
And follies are miſcall'd the crimes of Fate.

So alſo M. Cicero, in the book which he wrote on Fate, having ſaid that this queſtion was moſt obſcure and full of perplexity, affirms in theſe words

words that Chryſippus the philoſopher had not reſolved it:

" Chryſippus, labouring and toiling to explain that all things happen by a fatality, and that this influences us, perplexes himſelf in this manner."

CHAP. III.

Story from Tubero of a ſerpent of unuſual ſize.

TUBERO has written in his hiſtory, that in the firſt Punic War, Attilius Regulus the conſul, being encamped in Africa, near the river Bagrada[1], had a great and ſevere engagement with a ſingle ſerpent of extraordinary fierceneſs, whoſe den

[1] *Bagrada.*]—There were ſeveral rivers called by this name.—The one here alluded to was in the vicinity of Utica. By Lucan and Silius Italicus, it is called the ſlow Bagrada.—This particular ſerpent is alſo mentioned by Livy, Pliny, and Valerius Maximus. That there are enormous ſerpents in Africa will admit of no doubt, but I believe ſtill larger are met with in the interior parts of India; I have ſomewhere read of travellers miſtaking them, by their extraordinary magnitude, and when aſleep, for the trunks of trees. It is aſſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, that in the kingdom of Congo ſerpents have been found twenty-five feet in length, which will ſwallow a ſheep whole. Travellers alſo relate, that in the Brazils, ſerpents have been found forty feet long.

was

was on that ſpot. That he ſuſtained the attack of the whole army, and was a long time oppoſed with the *balliſtæ* and *catapultæ* [2]; and that being killed, his ſkin, which was one hundred and twenty feet long, was ſent to Rome.

[2] *Balliſtæ and catapultæ.*]—Theſe were military engines, from which ſtones were projected. Modern writers generally expreſs balliſtæ with a ſingle *l*; but this is doubtleſs an error, as it is derived from the Greek word βαλλω, *jacio*, to caſt; or not improbably from βαλλιζω: concerning which word, ſee Athenæus, Book 8. c. 17. The Engliſh reader will hardly believe the fact recorded in this chapter; but it has nevertheleſs exerciſed the acuteneſs and ſagacity of many critics and learned men. Dr. Shaw mentions it in his travels, and thinks it was a crocodile; but who ever heard of a crocodile one hundred and twenty feet long?—Mr. Daines Barrington diſbelieves it altogether, calling it an abſurd incredible circumſtance; to which opinion many will without reluctance accede.

CHAP. IV.

The ſame Tubero's relation of the captivity of Regulus [1]*—Account given by Tuditanus of the ſame Regulus.*

WHAT is ſufficiently notorious of Attilius Regulus, I have very lately read in the books of Tuditanus: That Regulus, being a captive, in addition to what he ſaid in the ſenate at Rome, perſuading them not to exchange priſoners with the Carthaginians, declared this alſo, that the Carthaginians had given him poiſon not of immediate effect [2], but of ſuch

[1] The ſtory of Regulus, with its various circumſtances, as related by different hiſtorians, muſt be too well known to juſtify my introduction of it more circumſtantially here.

[2] *Not of immediate effect.*]—It has from very remote periods been told of the people of India and Africa, that they are ſo well acquainted with the nature of poiſons, as to be able to procure death to any one at a longer or ſhorter period of time. Mead is of opinion, that this muſt be from the fruits or inſpiſſated juices of corroſive plants, which by producing ulcers in the bowels, may cauſe death to be ſlow and lingering. That this idea of ſlow poiſons was familiar in the time of Shakeſpeare, appears from this paſſage in the Tempeſt:

Their great guilt,
Like poiſon given to work a great time after,
Now 'gins to bite the ſpirits.

kind

kind as to protract his death to a distant period; intending him to live till the exchange should take place, and that afterwards, by the gradual operation of the poison, his vital powers might be exhausted. Tubero in his history relates of the same Regulus, that he returned to Carthage, and that he was tortured by the Carthaginians in a new and extraordinary manner. "They confined him," says he, "in a dark and deep dungeon, and some time afterwards, when the sun was in its meridian height, they suddenly brought him out, exposed him to the adverse strokes of the sun, and compelled him to fix his eyes on the firmament. They moved also his eyelids up and down, that he might not be able to sleep."

But Tuditanus relates that he was long prevented from sleeping, and so deprived of life; and that when this was known at Rome, the most noble of the Carthaginian prisoners were given up by the senate to the children of Regulus, who confining them in an engine full of iron spikes, there suffered them to expire in torture, and from a similar want of sleep.

CHAP. V.

Miſtake of Alfenus[1] the lawyer, in the interpretation of ſome old words.

ALFENUS the lawyer, a follower of Servius Sulpicius, an attentive obſerver of antiquities, in his thirty-fourth book of Digeſts, and ſecond of Conjectures, ſays, in the treaty which was made betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, it is written, that the latter were every year to pay the Romans a certain weight of ſilver, *puri puti*; and it was enquired what was meant by ſilver *purum putum:* I replied, ſaid he, that *purum putum* meant very pure, as we ſay *novum novicium*, and *proprium propicium*, as if willing to extend and amplify the ſignification of *novum* and *proprium*. On reading this, I was ſurprized that Alfenus ſhould think there was the ſame affinity betwixt *purum* and *putum*, as betwixt *novum* and *novicium*. If indeed it had been *puricium*, then it might have ſeemed to have been uſed like *novicium*. But this is wonderful, that he ſhould think *novicium* ſaid by way of amplifi-

[1] Alfenus is often quoted as of great authority on queſtions relating to civil law. He wrote forty books of Digeſts.

cation, when *novicium* is uſed not as *more new*, but becauſe it is ſaid and derived from *novum*, new. I agree therefore with thoſe who think that *putum* is ſaid *à putando*; for which reaſon they pronounce the firſt ſyllable ſhort and not long, as Alfenus ſeems to have thought, who has conſidered this as derived from *purum*. The ancients applied *putare* to the taking away and cutting off from any thing what was redundant [2], or unneceſſary, or in the way, and the leaving what was uſeful and without defect. Thus trees and vines, and alſo arguments, are ſaid *putari*. As to the word *puto*, which I have uſed by way of explaining my opinion, it means nothing elſe, than that in a dubious and perplexing matter, *cutting off* and *amputating* the falſe opinions, we retain that which ſeems to be true, entire, and perfect. The ſilver therefore in the Carthaginian treaty was ſaid to be *putum*; that is, all were *exputatum*, lopped off, perfectly tried, and free from all foreign ſubſtance, and on this account without defect, and entirely pure from every blemiſh. But the expreſſion *purum putum* does not only occur in the Carthaginian treaty, but as in many other ancient books, ſo alſo in a tragedy of En-

[2] *Redundant.*]—A vine pruner was denominated *putator*; as thus, in Virgil,

Summumque *putator*,
Haud dubitat terræ referens mandare cacumen.

See alſo Scaliger on this word.

nius,

nius, which is called Alexander, and in a ſatire of M. Varro, named, " Old Men twice young."

CHAP. VI.

Virgil cenſured raſhly and fooliſhly by Julius Hyginus, becauſe he called the wings of Dædalus præpetes.—*The meaning of* aves præpetes *explained.—What thoſe birds were which Nigidius calls* inferæ.

DÆDALUS ut fama eſt fugiens Minoïa regna,
Præpetibus pennis [1] auſus ſe credere cœlo.

[1] *Præpetibus pennis.*]—With ſwift wings.

Upon the word *præpes*, the grammarians have perplexed themſelves and others, with many ſubtle and protracted arguments. It is nearly ſynonymous with *celer* and *velox*; it is ſo uſed by Virgil, and by all the writers of beſt authority.

According to Feſtus, the verb *præpetere* was anciently uſed for *ante ire*, to go before.

The birds conſulted by the augurs were in this manner diſtinguiſhed: They who gave omens by flight, were named *præpetes*; they who gave omens by ſinging, were termed *oſcines*. The firſt were the eagle, vulture, and other birds of that genus; the latter the raven, the crow, the owl, and the cock.

Hyginus

Hyginus finds fault with theſe verſes from Virgil, that *præpetibus pennis* is uſed with impropriety and ignorance. For thoſe, ſays he, are called *præpetes aves* by the augurs, who either take their flight auſpiciouſly, or fix themſelves in proper places. He thought therefore that an augural term was not properly uſed in the flight of Dædalus, which had nothing to do with the ceremonies of the augurs. But Hyginus was exceedingly abſurd, when he thought that he knew the meaning of *præpetes*, but that Virgil and Cn. Mattius, a learned man, did not know; who in in the ſeventh book of the Iliad, called Victory ſwift and *præpes*, in this verſe,

Dum det vincenti præpes Victoria palmam.

But why did he not alſo blame Ennius, who in his Annals does not call the wings of Dædalus *præpetes*, but very differently; thus,

Quid
Brunduſium pulchro præcinctum præpete portu?

And if he had conſidered the nature and power of the word, and not what the augurs had ſaid alone, he would have forgiven poets the uſe of words not in their own peculiar ſignification, but with a licence of ſimilitude and metatheſis. For, ſince not only the birds which take their flight auſpiciouſly, but alſo the proper and fortunate ſituations which they chooſe, are termed *præpetes*; he therefore called the wings of Dædalus *præpetes*, becauſe he came from places in which

which he feared danger, to others which were more ſecure. For the augurs call alſo places *præpetes*; and Ennius has ſaid in his firſt book of Annals,

Præpetibus hilares ſeſe pulchriſque locis dant.

But Nigidius Figulus, in his firſt book of Private Augury, ſays, that in oppoſition to the *aves præpetes* are the *aves inferæ*; as thus, "The right differs from the left, the *præpes* from the *infera*." From which we may conjecture, that they were called *præpetes* from flying to a greater height; ſince Nigidius ſays, the *inferæ* differ from the *præpetes*. When I was a young man at Rome, at a time when I attended the grammarians, I heard Apollinaris Sulpicius, whom I more particularly preferred, when there was an enquiry concerning the office of augur, and mention was made of the *aves præpetes*, ſay to Enucius Clarus, the præfect of the city, that the birds named *præpetes* ſeemed to him to be the ſame with thoſe which Homer named τανυπτερυγας; ſince the augurs particularly regarded thoſe which took their flight with broad and outſtretched wings. He then repeated from Homer theſe lines:

But you order me to obey the birds with outſtretched wings,
Which I mind not nor regard.

CHAP. VII.

Of Acca Larentia and Caia Tarratia. The origin of the prieſthood of the Fratres Arvales.

THE names of Acca Larentia and Caia Tarratia, or as ſhe is ſometimes called Fufetia, are famous in ancient annals. To the one, after her death, but to the other whilſt alive, the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours were paid by the Roman people. The Horatian law proves that Tarratia was a Veſtal virgin, which law was enacted on her account; and by it the greateſt honours were paid her, among which, the power of giving her teſtimony was allowed her, ſhe being the only woman permitted to be *teſtabilis*. This word occurs in the Horatian law. In the twelve tables we find *inteſtabilis*. IMPROBUS, INTESTABILIS, ESTO [1]. Moreover, if at the age of forty

[1] *Inteſtabilis.*] Thus Horace ſays, as of a profligate and deteſtable character:

Is inteſtabilis et ſacer eſto.

Arnobius, in his tract Adverſus Gentes, remarks, that cities of the greateſt ſplendour and power were not aſhamed to pay divine honours to proſtitutes.

"In civitatibus maximis atque in potentioribus populis ſacra publice fiunt ſcortis meritoriis quondam, atque in vulgarem

forty * ſhe thought proper to leave the prieſthood and marry, ſhe had the privilege given her of unhallowing herſelf and taking a huſband, on account of her generous munificence, ſhe having given the Campus Tiberinus, or Martius, to the Roman people. But Acca Larentia was a public proſtitute, by which means ſhe obtained a large ſum of money. This woman by her will, as it appears in the Hiſtory of Antias, made, as

garem libidinem proſtitutis, nullus tremor indignationis in diis eſt." See on this ſubject alſo Lactantius, Macrobius, and Plutarch's Roman Queſtions. By Plutarch, the ſtory, which is not a very delicate one, is related at length.

The courtezan Leæna was alſo reverenced with divine honours by the Athenians; and here the lines of Pope preſent themſelves:

'Tis not the vice degrades her to a whore;
Let greatneſs own her, and ſhe's mean no more.

See alſo Gibbon's account of Theodora, the wife of the emperor Juſtinian. The proſtitute, who in the preſence of innumerable ſpectators had polluted the theatre of Conſtantinople, was *adored* as a queen in the ſame city, by grave magiſtrates, orthodox biſhops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs. The lines of Pope above quoted are referred by Warburton to this Theodora in particular; but, as Gibbon obſerves, it muſt require Warburton's critical teleſcope to ſee this.

* *Age of forty.*]—Originally the vow of virginity taken by the Veſtals was perpetual. The firſt ten years they learned the ſacred rites; the next ten they practiſed theſe; and the laſt inſtructed their juniors. It was very ſeldom that they availed themſelves of this permiſſion to marry; if they did, it was thought highly unbecoming. See Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis.

ſome ſay, king Romulus, but according to others the Roman people, heirs of her effects. On this account public ſacrifice was offered her by the Flamen Quirinalis, and a day of the public feſtivals was called after her name. But Sabinus Maſſurius, in his firſt book of Memorials, following ſome hiſtorians, ſays that Acca Larentia was the nurſe of Romulus. This woman, ſays he, loſt one of twelve male children by death; in his room Romulus gave himſelf as ſon to Acca Larentia, calling himſelf and the other brothers *Fratres Arvales* [3]. From this time there was a ſociety of *Fratres Arvales*, twelve in number; of which prieſthood the diſtinction is a garland of corn and white fillets.

[3] *Fratres Arvales,*] or rather *Fratres Ambarvales.* They offered ſacrifice to Ceres and Bacchus, to obtain fertility to their lands.—They were called Ambarvales, becauſe they carried the victim round the fields. See alſo Pliny, Book 18. c. 2. who relates the ſame ſtory with his uſual gravity.

CHAP. VIII.

Memorable anecdotes of Alexander and Publius Scipio.

APPION, a Greek, who was called Pliſtonices, was a man of agreeable and prompt elocution. When celebrating the praiſes of king Alexander, he forbade, ſays he, the wife of a conquered enemy, who was a woman of extraordinary beauty, to be introduced to his preſence [1], that he might not touch her, even with his eyes [2]. A pleaſant

[1] *To his preſence.*]—On the contrary, Q. Curtius and Juſtin both affirm, that the female relations of Darius were all introduced to the preſence of Alexander.

[2] *Might not touch her, even with his eyes.*]—Somewhat ſimilar to this is the expreſſion of Lear in our Shakeſpeare:

> Might I but live to ſee thee in my touch,
> I'd ſay I'd eyes again.

Plutarch ſays of Alexander, that on ſeeing the women of Perſia, he ſaid they were αλγηδονις ομματων, griefs of the eyes. But Herodotus makes the Perſians uſe this expreſſion to Amyntas the Macedonian king. See my note at this paſſage of the Greek hiſtorian. Conſult alſo the life of the emperor Julian, by the Abbé Bleterie, page 405-6. This eccentric character, in his laſt and fatal expedition againſt Perſia, took ſome great city by ſtorm. The Perſian women have ever been celebrated for their perſonal charms; and when his officers expreſſed a wiſh to preſent him with ſome female

A pleaſant queſtion may therefore be propoſed, Who is to be reckoned the more continent, Publius Africanus the Elder, who having taken Carthage, a conſiderable city in Spain, reſtored without violation to her father, a blooming virgin of remarkable beauty, the daughter of a noble Spaniard, who had been taken captive and brought to him; or Alexander [3], who refuſed to ſee the wife and ſiſter of king Darius, captured in a mighty battle, who had been deſcribed to him as very beautiful, and forbade them to be brought to his preſence?—But let thoſe expatiate on both theſe ſubjects concerning Alexander and Scipio, who have plenty of time, and words and genius for the employment. It will be enough for me

female captives of extraordinary beauty; that he might not yield to a paſſion which has often triumphed over conquerors, and ſometimes over philoſophers, he refuſed to ſee them.

[3] *Or Alexander.*]—Bayle has a great deal to ſay on this ſubject, at the articles Abderame and Macedonia. Abderame was a Mooriſh general, and by chance of war obtained poſſeſſion of the perſon of a widow lady of ſurpriſing beauty, whom he treated with the greateſt delicacy and generoſity; an act, ſays Bayle, which a Saracen writer would have extolled beyond the boaſted continence of Alexander and Scipio. I would not diminiſh the praiſe due to Alexander's ſelf-denial; but it is related of him, that he was by no means naturally of an amorous conſtitution.—"If thou wert pure as ſnow, thou ſhalt not 'ſcape calumny." Yet of Scipio, Valerius Maximus alſo relates, that in his early life he was a libertine.—Solutionis vitæ primos adoleſcentiæ annos egiſſe fertur.

to

to relate what is reported by hiſtory. It is ſaid of this Scipio, I know not whether truly or otherwiſe, but it is related, that when a young man he was not immaculate; and it appears that theſe verſes were written by Cn. Nævius the poet againſt him:

"He who often carried on great affairs with glory, whoſe exploits yet live and flouriſh, who alone is renowned among men, was by his father led away in his ſhirt from his miſtreſs."

I believe that theſe verſes induced Valerius Antias to expreſs himſelf concerning the morality of Scipio, in contradiction to all other writers; and to ſay, that this captive maid was not reſtored to her father, as we have ſaid above, but was detained by Scipio, and uſed by him for his amorous pleaſures.

CHAP. IX.[1]

A paſſage from the Annals of L. Piſo, intereſting in itſelf and agreeably related.

BECAUSE the thing ſeemed worthy of being recorded which L. Piſo in his third book of Annals affirms, that Cn. Flavius, a curule ædile, and ſon of Annius, did, and as this is told

[1] This chapter is of conſiderable importance, as it throws much light on ancient hiſtory. Upon the ſcribes of the ancients a volume might eaſily be written; they differed from each other conſiderably in rank, in the nature of their employments, and their conſequent views in the ſtate; generally ſpeaking, they were held in no great eſtimation.—They might not be admitted into the ſenate; and yet it appears from this chapter, that they were eligible to high and important offices. Cicero calls them an honourable body of men, in his fifth oration againſt Verres: "Quæ pars operis aut opportunitatis in ſcriba eſt.....Ordo eſt honeſtus quis negat." Yet they were often in a ſervile condition, and generally found among the ſlaves of the great, diſtinguiſhed by no particular privileges. Their employment in this ſituation ſeems to have been that of librarian or ſecretary. We learn from the chapter before us, that it was uſual for them to appear in public with the inſtruments of their profeſſion.—Pliny calls his ſcribe or ſecretary, notarius: "Notarium voco—abit—rurſuſque revocatur, rurſuſque dimittitur."

When conſidered in a public capacity, their office ſeems to have nearly correſponded with that of our notary public.

by Piſo with much purity and elegance, I have tranſcribed the whole of the paſſage.

" Cn. Flavius was the ſon of a freedman, and by profeſſion a ſcribe. He appeared as a candidate for the curule ædileſhip at the time of election of ædiles, and was declared curule ædile by his tribe: but the ædile who held the comitia refuſed to aceept him, not thinking it right that he who had been a ſcribe ſhould be curule ædile. Cn. Flavius, the ſon of Annius, is ſaid to have thrown away his tablets, and renounced his profeſſion of ſcribe, and he was elected curule ædile. The ſame Cn. Flavius, the ſon of Annius, is ſaid to have made a viſit to his colleague when ſick; and having entered into the inner apartment, many young noblemen who were ſitting there treated him contemptuouſly. No one choſe to riſe. At this Cn. Flavius, the ſon of Annius, ſmiled: he directed his ivory chair to be brought, and placed it at the entrance, ſo that none of them could go out; and all of them reluctantly beheld him ſitting in his chair of office."

CHAP. X.

Story of Euclid the Socratic, by whoſe example the philoſopher Taurus uſed to encourage his pupils to the earneſt ſtudy of philoſophy.

THE philoſopher Taurus, a man in my memory of reputation in the Platonic ſect, whilſt he recommended the ſtudy of philoſophy by many good and pertinent examples, particularly impreſſed on the minds of youth what he affirmed to have been frequently done by Euclid the Socratic.

The Athenians, ſays he, had decreed, that if any citizen of Megara [1] ſhould be found to have ſet

[1] *Of Megara.*]—See the Comedy of Errors.

Duke. It hath in ſolemn ſynod been decreed,
Both by the Syracuſans and ourſelves,
To admit no traffic to our adverſe towns;
Nay more—
If any born at Epheſus, be ſeen
At any Syracuſan marts or fairs,
Again, if any Syracuſan born
Come to the bay of Epheſus, he dies.

Megara ſeparated the territories of Athens from thoſe of Corinth; it was conſequently often involved in the hoſtilities of more powerful neighbours. It was at firſt governed by kings, but was finally ſubjected by the Athenians

ſet his foot in Athens, that man ſhould ſuffer death; ſo great a hatred did the Athenians entertain for their neighbours of Megara. Then Euclid, who was from the ſame place[a], of Megara, and who before reſided at Athens, and was a hearer of Socrates, after this decree had the public ſanction, at evening, as ſoon as it was dark, in a long female garb, and in a cloak of various colours, having his head in a hood, left his houſe at Megara to viſit Socrates at Athens, that at leaſt during ſome portion of the night he might enjoy his converſation and inſtruction. Early in the morning, diſguiſed in the ſame dreſs, he returned home, the diſtance being ſomething more than twenty miles. But now, continued he, we ſee philoſophers eagerly running of themſelves to the doors of young men who are rich, to give their leſſons; there they are obliged to ſit, ſhut up, till their pupils ſhall have ſlept off the laſt night's wine.

to their power. The philoſopher Euclid, mentioned in this chapter, founded at Megara a ſchool of philoſophy; the principles which he inculcated had a near reſemblance to the Platonic diſcipline. An anecdote of his amiable diſpoſition is recorded by Plutarch: His brother was offended with him, and exclaimed in a paſſion, "I will die if I have not revenge." "So will I," replied Euclid, "if I do not oblige you to love me again."—He was ſucceeded in his ſchool by Eubulus of Miletus.

[a] *From the ſame place.*]—Qui indidem Megaris, in the original; this is pointed out by Rutgerſius as an elegant imitation of Greek expreſſion, of which many examples are found in Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Terence, and others.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Words of Quintus Metellus Numidicus, which it is a pleaſure to remember, applicable to dignified ſtations and propriety of conduct.

SINCE it is unbecoming to contend in reproaches with very profligate men, and to retaliate ill words upon thoſe who are vulgar and impudent, becauſe you are ſo long like and equal to them, as you uſe and liſten to their language; as much may be learned from an oration of Q. Metellus Numidicus [1], as from the books and precepts of philoſophers. Theſe are the words of Metellus againſt Cn. Manlius a tribune, by whom he had been inſulted and reproached in very abuſive terms before the people:

"And now, Romans, with reſpect to him, who thinks that he increaſes his own importance by declaring himſelf my enemy, but whom I neither receive as a friend nor fear as an enemy, I will not ſay another word againſt him. For I think him

[1] *Q. Metellus.*]—This was Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, who is often mentioned by Cicero in terms of the higheſt reſpect. He was an excellent magiſtrate, and a firm patriot. The Manlius whom he in this place ſo ſeverely reprobates, was a friend to Catiline, for whoſe ſervice he raiſed an army.

moſt

moſt unworthy of the praiſes of good men, neither is he a proper object for the reproaches of the good; for if you name a fellow of this deſcription at a time when you cannot puniſh him, you treat him rather with honour than contempt."

CHAP. XII.

That neither "teſtamentum," as Servius Sulpicius thought, nor "ſacellum," as Trebatius, are compounded. The former is derived from "teſtatio," the latter is a diminutive from "ſacrum."

SERVIUS Sulpicius the lawyer, the moſt learned man of his time, in his ſecond book "On denouncing Sacred Rites [1]," aſſerts that *teſtamentum*,

[1] *Denouncing Sacred Rites.*]—The heir was obliged to make a declaration before the comitia curiata, that he would adopt the ſacred rites which followed the inheritance; and this was called, "deteſtatio ſacrorum." An inheritance not accompanied by this is called by Plautus, "hæreditas ſine ſacris." This expreſſion Thornton properly enough, I ſuppoſe from the authority of Feſtus, tranſlates, "An eſtate without an incumbrance." Particular ſacrifices belonged to each Roman family, which neceſſarily involved a conſiderable expence.

An

teſtamentum, though I cannot tell why, is a compound word. He ſays it is compounded of *teſtatio* and *mens*; what then ſhall we ſay of *calceamentum*, or *paludamentum*, or *pavimentum*, or *veſtimentum*, and a thouſand other words which are in a ſimilar manner extended? Shall we ſay that all theſe are compound? A falſe, but neither an inelegant nor prepoſterous ſignification of *mens* (mind) ſeems here to have intruded itſelf on Servius, or whoever elſe firſt made the aſſertion.

Indeed a ſimilar and equally pertinent idea occurred to C. Trebatius, in his ſecond book "Of Religions." The *ſacellum* is a ſmall place with an altar, ſacred to a deity. He then adds, "I think *ſacellum* is compounded of the two words *ſacer* and *cella*, as *ſacra cella*." Thus Trebatius wrote; but who knows not that *ſacellum* is a ſimple word, not compounded of *ſacer* and *cella*, but a diminutive of *ſacrum*?

An anecdote on this ſubject is related by Livy, which ſeems to demand a place here.

The Fabian family were obliged at a certain time to offer ſacrifice on the Quirinal hill. When the Gauls were in poſſeſſion of the whole of Rome except the Capitol, Caius Fabius Dorſo, in a ſacred veſt, and having the ſacred utenſils in his hand, aſtoniſhed the enemy by his deſcending with undaunted intrepidity from the Capitoline hill. Without regarding their voices, geſtures, or menaces, he paſſed through their ranks, and came to the Quirinal mount. There, having with due ſolemnity offered the ſacrifice required, he again returned, and without moleſtation, to his friends; the Gauls either venerating his piety, or overcome by his audacity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of certain queſtions diſcuſſed by Taurus the philoſopher at his table, and called ſympoſiacs [1].

THE following was generally done at Athens by thoſe who were more particularly intimate with the philoſopher Taurus. When he invited us to his houſe, that we might not come, as he ſaid, entirely free and without paying [2] any thing, we ſubſcribed to the ſupper not choice bits of food, but ſome ſubtle queſtions. Every one of us therefore went with his mind prepared to propoſe ſome queſtion; and when ſupper ended converſation began. The queſtions propoſed were not ſevere and profound, but rather calculated to exerciſe acuteneſs; being facetious, trifling, and adapted to ſpirits moderately warmed

[1] *Sympoſiacs.*]—The literal meaning of this word is drinking together; from whence it came to mean diſputations at table, Plutarch having nine books of Queſtions ſo called.—Such alſo is the work of Athenæus.

[2] *Without paying.*] —In the original, *aſymboli.* Thus, in Terence, aſymbolus ad cœnam venire, is to come to an entertainment without paying; the word is derived from α, *non*, συν, *con*, and βαλλω, *jacio*. Anciently at every public entertainment each gueſt contributed his proportion, which was called his συμβολη, or ſymbol. The word, as now uſed in our language, bears a very different meaning.

with

with wine. Such, generally, as this ludicrous ſubtlety, which I ſhall mention. It was aſked, When a dying man could be ſaid to die; at the time he actually expired, or when he was on the point of expiring? When a perſon riſing could be ſaid to riſe; when he actually ſtood, or when he was but juſt ſitting? He who learned any art, at what time he became an artiſt; when he was really one, or when he was juſt not one? If you aſſert any one of theſe, you aſſert what is abſurd and ridiculous; yet it will appear more abſurd, if you aſſert both or allow neither. But when they ſaid that all theſe quibbles were futile and abſurd, Do not, interrupted Taurus, deſpiſe theſe altogether as a mere trifling ſport. The graveſt philoſophers have enquired ſeriouſly concerning theſe things; and ſome have thought that the moment of dying was called and indeed really was that when life yet remained; others thought at this period no life exiſted, and they called actual death that which was the act of dying. So of other ſimilar things [3], they have at different times defended different opinions. But our Plato, continued he, aſſigned this period neither to life

[3] *Similar things.*] — This delicate point of vibration between two things entirely oppoſite, yet cloſely approximating, is admirably deſcribed in the Ode to Indifference, by Mrs. Greville:

Nor peace, nor eaſe, that heart can know,
Which, like the needle true,
Turns at the touch of joy or woe,
But turning trembles too.

nor

nor death; which rule he alſo obſerved in all other diſputes of a ſimilar nature. For he ſaw indeed a contradiction each way, and that of two oppoſite things both could not ſeparately be ſupported; and that the queſtion was of the point of coherence betwixt two different things, namely life and death. For this reaſon he himſelf invented and expreſſed another new period as to the point of contact, which in a peculiar form of words he named "*την εξαιφνης φυσιν*[4];" and you will find him thus expreſſing himſelf in his book called Parmenides: "For this ſuddenneſs ſeems to expreſs ſomething like a tranſition from one to another."—Such were the contributions at the table of Taurus, and ſuch as he himſelf uſed to ſay were the contents of his ſecond courſe[5].

[4] *της εξαιφνης φυσιν.*]—A nature on a ſudden, or a ſudden nature.

[5] *Second courſe.*]—The contents of the ſecond courſe among the Romans were called bellaria, and conſiſted of fruits and confectionary.

CHAP. XIV.

Three reaſons aſſigned by philoſophers for the puniſhment of crimes. Why Plato has recorded only two of them.

IT is uſually ſuppoſed that there are three proper reaſons for puniſhing crimes; the one, which is called νουθεσια (admonition), or κολασις, or παραινεσις, when a rebuke is adminiſtered for the ſake of correction and improvement, that he who has committed an accidental offence, may become more regular and attentive. The ſecond is that, which they who diſtinguiſh nicely between theſe terms call τιμωρια (vengeance). This mode of noticing an offence takes place when the dignity and authority of him againſt whom it is committed, is to be defended, leſt the paſſing by, the crime ſhould give riſe to contempt or a diminution of reſpect, therefore they ſuppoſe this word to ſignify the vindication of honour. The third mode of puniſhment is called by the Greeks παραδειγμα (example) and is applied when puniſhment is neceſſary for the ſake of example, that others may be deterred from ſimilar offences againſt the public by the dread of ſimilar puniſhment. Therefore did our anceſtors alſo denominate the heavieſt and moſt important

tant puniſhments, examples[1]. When therefore there is either great hope, that he who has offended will without puniſhment voluntarily correct himſelf, or on the contrary there is no hope that he can be amended and corrected, or that it is not neceſſary to fear any loſs of that dignity, againſt which he has offended, or the offence is of that kind, the example of which it is not neceſſary to impreſs with particular terror; in this caſe, and with reſpect to every ſuch offence, there does not ſeem to exiſt the neceſſity of being eager to inflict puniſhment. Theſe three modes of vengeance, other philoſophers in various places, and our Taurus in the firſt book of his Commentaries on the Gorgias of Plato, has ſet down. But Plato himſelf has plainly ſaid, that there only exiſt two cauſes for puniſhment. The one, which we have firſt mentioned, for correction; the other, which we have ſpoken of in the third place, to deter by example. Theſe are the words of Plato:—"It is proper for every one who is puniſhed, by him who puniſhes from a proper motive, that he ſhould become better and receive advantage; or that he ſhould be an example to others, that others, ſeeing him ſuffer, may from terror be rendered better."

In theſe lines it is evident that Plato uſed the word τιμωρια not, as I have before remarked ſome people have, but in its common and ge-

[1] Thus we ſay in Engliſh *to make an example of a perſon.*

neral ſenſe, for all kinds of puniſhment. But whether, becauſe he paſſed over as too inſignificant and really contemptible, the inflicting puniſhment to avenge the injured dignity of man; or rather that he omitted it as not being neceſſary to the queſtion he was diſcuſſing, as he was writing of puniſhments which were to take place not in this life among men, but after death, this I leave to others to determine. [a]

[a] The ſubject of crimes and puniſhments is hardly to be exhauſted; and in all ages of mankind the graveſt and wiſeſt philoſophers have differed in their opinions and arguments concerning them. The ſtate of ſociety is conſtantly changing in all places and at all periods; conſequently that ſyſtem which may be wiſe at one epoch, may alſo be abſurd, inconſiſtent, and inadequate in another. At one time ſeverity may be indiſpenſably neceſſary, at another, mildneſs becomes the trueſt policy. To recapitulate the ſentiments of thoſe who have gone before us, or indeed of our cotemporaries, would be tedious, and perhaps, from my pen, unintereſting. I am happy to tranſcribe a ſentence from Seneca concerning crimes and puniſhments, to which I preſume the majority of mankind will without difficulty accede; it ſeems indeed to be the only unexceptionable baſis for every code of penal laws: "The end of puniſhment is either to make him better who is puniſhed, or that his example who is puniſhed may make others better; or, laſtly, that the bad being taken away, the good may live in greater ſecurity."

CHAP. XV.

Of the word quieſco; *whether the letter* e *ought to be made long or ſhort.*

A FRIEND of mine, a man of ſerious ſtudy, and well verſed in the more elegant purſuits of learning, commonly uſed the word *quieſco* with the *e* ſhort. Another friend of mine, who was very dextrous in the ſubtleties of ſcience, but too faſtidious and nice with reſpect to common expreſſions, thought that he ſpoke barbarouſly; ſaying, that he ought to have pronounced it long, and not ſhort. He obſerved, that *quieſcit* ought to be pronounced as *caleſcit*, *niteſcit*, *ſtupeſcit*, and many others of a ſimilar kind. He added alſo, that *quies* was pronounced with the *e* long, and not ſhort. But my friend remarked, with his accuſtomed modeſty and moderation, that if the Ælii [1], the Cineri [2], and the Santræ [3], thought it was to be ſo pronounced, he would not comply

[1] *Ælius*]—is more than once mentioned by Gellius in terms of reſpect, as a very learned man.

[2] *Cinerus.*]—I do not find this name in Nonius Marcellus, but he is again introduced by Gellius in the 16th book, and is mentioned by Macrobius.

[3] *Santræ.*]—Santra is a name which occurs in Marcellus, where he is repreſented as a writer on the antiquity of words.

with their opinion in contradiction to the univerſal uſage of the Latin tongue; nor would he be ſo particular in his language as to uſe harſh and uncommon expreſſions. He alſo wrote upon this ſubject in a kind of mock exerciſe; and demonſtrated that *quieſco* was not ſimilar to the words above mentioned, nor derived from *quies*; but that *quies* was derived from *quieſco*, and that this word had the manner and the origin of the Greek word εσχον and εσκον, which is Ionice from the verb εσχω, ισχω. He proved then, by reaſons which were not unintereſting, that *quieſco* ought not to be pronounced with the *e* long.

CHAP. XVI.

The common word deprecor *applied by the poet Catullus in an unuſual but not improper manner. The meaning of this word, with examples from ancient writers.*

A CERTAIN perſon, who by an irregular and rude ſort of exerciſe, had aſſerted claims to the reputation of eloquence, but had not learned the true uſages of the Latin tongue, when we were one evening walking in the Lyceum,

ecum, afforded us much mirth and amuſement. For as the word *deprecor* was placed with particular judgment in a poem of Catullus, he, not knowing this, obſerved, that the lines were remarkably flat, which in my opinion are exceedingly beautiful. They are here added [1]:

Leſbia mi dicit ſemper male, nec tacet unquam
De me Leſbia; me deſperem niſi amat,
Quo ſigno? quaſi non totidem mox deprecor illi
Aſſidue: verum deſperem niſi amo.

The good man [2] thought that *deprecor* was uſed in

[1] *Here added.*]—I have given in the text the original, as it appears in the edition of Gronovius. It is undoubtedly pointed wrong. It ſhould be read thus:

Leſbia mi dicit ſemper male, nec tacet unquam
De me: Leſbia me deſperem niſi amat, &c.

A friend thus tranſlates the epigram,

So oft does Leſbia rail upon my name;
Ah! may I periſh but the maid's in love,
I know it—for I feel a kindred flame,
And equal railings equal fondneſs prove.

This is elegant, and ſufficiently explanatory of the poet's meaning; but yet there is a point in the original which it has not reached. Mr. Wilkes, in his elegant edition of Catullus, has adopted the reading which I have given above. The ſecond line is ſometimes read thus:

De me deſperem me niſi Leſbia amat.

[2] *Good man.*]—Bonus homo; which expreſſion is uſed in a ſenſe of ridicule or contempt. Thus, in Engliſh, the epithet *good* is often applied ludicrouſly; and we ſay, good man

in this paſſage, as it is generally applied by the vulgar, to ſignify, I earneſtly pray, entreat, and ſupplicate, where the prepoſition *de* is uſed intenſively. If it were ſo, the lines would be inanimate indeed; but the contrary is the fact. For the prepoſition *de*, as it is doubtful, conveys a double meaning in one and the ſame word; and *deprecor* is here applied by Catullus in the ſenſe of, I deteſt, execrate, put away, and abominate. It has a different meaning in Cicero's Oration for Sylla; where he ſays, "Quam multorum hic vitam a Sulla *deprecatus*." Thus in his diſſuaſive from the Agrarian law: "Si quid deliquero, nullæ ſunt imagines quæ me a vobis deprecentur."

But it is not Catullus only who has thus uſed this word: the books of the ancients are full of this ſignification of it, from which I have ſelected one or two examples. Q. Ennius, in his Erectheus, has expreſſed himſelf not in a very different manner from Catullus:

Quibus nunc ærumna mea libertatem paro
Quibus ſervitutem mea miſeria *deprecor*.

Where it ſignifies to drive away, to remove either

man and good fellow, contemptuouſly. Good man is ſometimes uſed ſynonymouſly with huſband. See alſo Cardinal Wolſey's famous ſoliloquy in Shakſpeare:

The third day comes a froſt, a killing froſt;
And when he thinks, good eaſy man! full ſurely
His greatneſs is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls as I do.

by

by entreaty or by ſome other method. The ſame Ennius alſo, in his Cteſiphon:

Ego quum meæ vitæ parcam, letum inimico *deprecor.*

Cicero in his ſixth book De Republica, has thus expreſſed himſelf:

" Quod quidem eo fuit majus qui quum cauſa pari collegæ eſſent, non modo invidia pari non erant, ſed etiam Claudii invidiam Gracchi caritas *deprecabatur.*"

This alſo means, not that he earneſtly intreated, but that he, as it were, drove from him, and averted envy. Thus the Greeks, by an affinity of expreſſion, ſay παραιτεμαι. In his Oration for A. Cæcina, Cicero alſo uſes the word again:

" Quid huic homini facias? nonne concedas interdum ut excuſatione ſummæ ſtultitiæ, ſummæ improbitatis odium *deprecetur.*"

So in his ſecond Oration againſt Verres;

" Nunc vero quid faciat Hortenſius? avaritiæne crimina frugalitates laudibus *deprecetur?* an hominem flagitioſiſſimum, libidinoſiſſimum nequiſſimumque defendet?"

Thus Catullus ſays, that he does the ſame as Leſbia; that he publicly ſpake ill of her, that he ſcorned, deſpiſed, and conſtantly deteſted her, and yet that he paſſionately loved her.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Who firſt inſtituted public libraries[1]. *The number of books depoſited in public libraries at Athens before the Perſian invaſion.*

PISISTRATUS the tyrant is ſaid to have been the firſt who ſupplied books of the liberal ſciences at Athens for public uſe. Afterwards the Athenians themſelves, with great care and pains, increaſed their number; but all this multitude of books, Xerxes, when he obtained poſſeſſion of Athens, and burned the whole of the city except the citadel, ſeized and carried away

[1] *Public libraries.*]—That Piſiſtratus was the firſt who collected books, ſeems generally allowed by ancient writers. Before the Theban and Trojan wars we muſt not look even for books, much leſs for collections of books. It is ſingular that Pythagoras forbade his diſciples to commit any thing to writing, with an exception, I believe, in favour of thoſe who purſued mathematical ſtudies.

In Greece were ſeveral famous libraries. Clearchus, who was a follower of Plato, founded a magnificent one in Heraclea. There was one in the iſland of Cnidos. The books of Athens were by Sylla removed to Rome. The public libraries of the Romans were filled with books, not of miſcellaneous literature, but were rather political and ſacred collections, conſiſting of what regarded their laws and the ceremonies of their religion. Their private libraries were very ſplendid and magnificent, as I have elſewhere deſcribed.

to Perſia. But king Seleucus, who was called Nicanor, many years afterwards, was careful that all of them ſhould be again carried back to Athens.

A prodigious number of books were in ſucceeding times collected by the Ptolemies[2] in Egypt, to the amount of near ſeven hundred thouſand volumes. But in the firſt Alexandrine war the whole library, during the plunder of the city, was deſtroyed by fire, not by any concerted deſign, but accidentally by the auxiliary ſoldiers.

[2] *The Ptolemies.*]—The Egyptian library was began by Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is worth relating of this prince, that when the Athenians were in great diſtreſs from a famine, he refuſed to furniſh them with proviſions till they ſhould firſt preſent him with the original works of their three celebrated tragedians. This library was accidentally burned by Cæſar's ſoldiers, but it was afterwards reſtored by Antony, who gave it to Cleopatra.

Nothing could be more honourable, or perhaps more uſeful to a nation, than a great national library. It may be ſaid, that in this country ſuch a library would be ſuperfluous, as there exiſt ſo many valuable and curious collections. This is true, but this is not enough.—I know that many ſuch collections exiſt among us, but I object that they are not ſufficiently eaſy of acceſs. The ingenuous pride and delicacy of a ſcholar, will often make him diffident of applying for books where alone they are to be had; particularly, which is often the caſe, when the loan of them is conſidered as a great perſonal obligation.

CHAP.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Memorable facts of P. Scipio Africanus, taken from the Annals.

WHAT has been recorded in Greek hiſtory of Olympias, wife of king Philip, and mother of Alexander, has alſo been related of the mother of P. Scipio, firſt called Africanus. For C. Oppius [1], Julius Higinus, and others who have written on the life and actions of Africanus, affirm that his mother was for a long time ſuppoſed to be barren, and that Publius Scipio, to whom ſhe had been married, deſpaired of having children. Afterwards, when in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe ſlept alone in her own apartment, and uſual bed, an immenſe ſerpent [2] was ſeen to repoſe

[1] *C. Oppius.*]—C. Oppius was a biographer, and is quoted by Plutarch, Pliny, and others.

[2] *Immenſe ſerpent.*]—Many exalted characters have wiſhed to circulate the opinion, that under the form of ſerpents, Jupiter or Apollo, or ſome other of the deities, were the authors of their being. In imitation of Alexander and Scipio, Auguſtus

repoſe near her, which (they who beheld it making a great noiſe, and being much terrified) glided away

Auguſtus Cæſar alſo was proud to have it believed, that in the ſhape of a ſerpent Apollo enjoyed his mother Atia.—The ſtory is related at length by Suetonius; where alſo we are told, that from the time of her conception there was impreſſed on her body a ſpot like a ſerpent, which prevented her from attending the public baths.

Sidonius Apollinaris thus ſpeaks of this circumſtance, as it reſpects Auguſtus:

Magnus Alexander, nec non Auguſtus, habentur
Concepti ſerpente deo.

Dryden makes a happy uſe of this fabulous origin of Alexander, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's day:

The ſong began from Jove,
Who left his bliſsful ſeats above,
Such is the power of mighty Love!
A dragon's fiery form belied the god:
Sublime on radiant ſpires he trode,
When he to fair Olympia preſs'd,
And while he ſought her ſnowy breaſt,
Then round her ſlender waiſt he curl'd,
And ſtamp'd an image of himſelf, a ſovereign of the world.

See alſo in Milton a beautiful alluſion to theſe fables:

Pleaſing was his ſhape
And lovely, never ſince of ſerpent kind
Lovelier: not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd,
Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
In Epidaurus, nor to which transform'd
Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was ſeen;
He with Olympias, this with her who bore
Scipio, the heighth of Rome.

The ſerpent, among the ancients, was univerſally conſidered as the ſymbol of good fortune. This perhaps is enough,

away and could not be found. This was related by P. Scipio to the augurs; who replied, after performing ſacrifice, that he would have children. Not many days after this ſerpent had been ſeen in her bed, the woman began to feel the uſual ſymptoms of conception. In the tenth month ſhe brought forth; and that Publius Scipio Africanus was then born, who conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa, in the ſecond Punic war. But he was much rather believed to be a man of divine merit from his actual exploits, than from this prodigy. Yet it is not impertinent to add, that the writers whom I have mentioned above have recorded, that this Scipio Africanus did very frequently, at the latter part of the night, before break of day, go to the Capitol, and command the chapel [3] of Jove to be opened; and that there he would remain a long time alone, as if conſulting with Jupiter [4] concerning the repub-

enough, to ſay more would lead to a long diſcuſſion of ſerpent worſhip as practiſed by the Romans, the Greeks, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians.

[3] *The chapel.*]—That is, the interior and more ſacred part of the temple, where the image of the deity was depoſited. The word in the original is *cellam*. Arnobius adverſus Gentes uſes *cellulas* in the ſame manner: Conclavia et cellulas fabricari.

[4] *As if conſulting with Jupiter.*]—Thus alſo Numa Pompilius, in order to obtain greater influence with the people, pretended to have nightly communication with the nymph Egeria. To which tradition Juvenal thus alludes:

Madidamque Capenam
Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ.

lic.

lic. The porters alſo of the temple were greatly aſtoniſhed, that on his coming to the Capitol alone, and at that time, the dogs, who were always furious to other people, neither barked at nor moleſted him. The many admirable things which Scipio ſaid and did, ſeemed to ſtrengthen and confirm the popular opinions concerning him. One of which was of this kind: He laid cloſe ſiege to a town in Spain, which was ſtrong, well protected by its ſituation, walls, and troops, and had alſo abundance of proviſions; there were no hopes of his taking it; and on a certain day he ſate in his camp adminiſtering juſtice, from a place whence the town was viſible at a diſtance. Then one of the ſoldiers, whoſe cauſe was trying, ſtanding near him, aſked, as uſual, the day and place when his recognizance ſhould appear[5]; Scipio, pointing with his hand to the citadel of the beſieged town, "After two days," ſays he, "they ſhall appear yonder;" and ſo it happened. On the third day from the time when he ordered the ſureties to appear the town was taken; and on that very day he adminiſtered juſtice in the citadel of the place.

[5] *Recognizance ſhould appear.*]—On the explanation of the legal terms here uſed by Gellius, conſult Heineccius, page 592.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.[1]

Shameful error of Cæſellius Vindex, found in the book which he called "Ancient Readings."

WE find a diſgraceful miſtake in theſe very celebrated Commentaries of Ancient Readings of Cæſellius Vindex, a man who was indeed very accurate in moſt inſtances; which error has eſcaped many, although, in order to reprehend Cæſellius, various things are calumnioufly hunted out[2]. Cæſellius has written, that Q. Ennius

[1] The argument of this chapter has been objected to by ſome, as a proof of great vanity and oſtentation on the part of Gellius. H. Stephens undertakes his defence; which, if any defence were neceſſary, will be found ſufficient and ſatisfactory. This vindication of Gellius by Stephens is written againſt Ludovicus Vives in particular.

Gellius has made out his caſe clearly enough, and proved all that he aſſerted. We learn from this chapter the neceſſity of never introducing falſe or partial quotations; by doing which truth itſelf may be injured, and the reputation of a man of genius diſgraced.

Concerning Cæſellius Vindex, conſult Book iii. Chap. 16.

[2] *Calumnioufly hunted out.*]—Whoever wiſhes to ſee this diſingenuous ſpirit of criticiſm ſucceſsfully expoſed, with all the effect of wit and ridicule, will be amply ſatisfied with Swift's digreſſion concerning critics in his Tale of a Tub. "The proper employment of a true ancient genuine critic," ſays Swift, "is to travel through this vaſt world of writings;

to

nius, in his thirteenth book of Annals, uſed *cor* in the maſculine gender. The words of Cæſellius are here added: "Ennius has uſed *cor*, as many other words, in the maſculine gender; for in the thirteenth book of Annals, he ſaid *quem cor*; he then ſubjoins two verſes from Ennius:

Hannibal audaci cum pectore dehortatur
Ne bellum faciam: quem credidit eſſe meum cor?"

It is Antiochus king of Aſia who ſays this. He is ſurpriſed, and in aſtoniſhment, that Hannibal the Carthaginian ſhould diſcourage him, being inclined to make war upon the Romans. But Cæſellius underſtood theſe verſes as if Antiochus ſhould ſay, "Hannibal adviſes me not to carry on war; which when he does, what ſort of a heart does he ſuppoſe me to have? How fooliſh does he ſuppoſe me to be, deſiring to make me believe

to purſue and hunt theſe monſtrous faults bred within them. To drag out the lurking errors, like Cacus from his den; to multiply them like hydra's heads, and rake them together like Augeas' dung, &c. &c." Which paſſage, by the way, bears a remarkable reſemblance to one which occurs in a curious and ſcarce little tract, De Charlataneria Eruditorum.

"Prima nobis prodeat grammaticorum ac criticorum gens aſpera et ferox, qui cum pueros ad virgam obſequentes habuere in ſcholis nulli eruditorum parcunt et in ipſum orbem Romanum Græciamque univerſam principatum quendam ambitioſe ſibi vindicent. Sive enim Græcus, ſive Latinus ſimplex preponatur, non tam id agunt ut ſcite et appoſite dicta evolvant ac nitori ſuo reddant, quam ut nodum quærant in ſcirpo at ad manuſcriptos codices confugiant, variaſque lectiones, nullo habito delectu cumulent; tum vero urere, ſecare et nihil a virgula cenſoria intactum relinquere."

this!" Thus Cæſellius: but the meaning of Ennius is very different; for there are not two but three verſes belonging to this aſſertion of Ennius, the third of which Cæſellius has not regarded:

Hannibal audaci cum pectore de me hortatur
Ne bellum faciam: quem credidit eſſe meum cor
Suaſorem ſummum et ſtudioſum robore belli.

The ſenſe and order of theſe words I believe to be this: "Hannibal, that moſt bold and valiant man, whom I believed (for that is the meaning of *cor meum credidit*; as if he had ſaid, whom I, fooliſh man, believed) to be a great adviſer to war, diſſuades and forbids me to make war." But probably Cæſellius, from this negligent diſpoſition of the words, read it *quem cor*, giving to *quem* an acute accent, as if it referred to *cor*, and not to Hannibal. But it does not eſcape me, if any ſhould be ſo ſtupid, that the *cor* of Cæſellius may be defended as maſculine, by reading the third verſe ſeparately and unconnected.—As if Antiochus were to exclaim, in a broken and abrupt mode of expreſſion, *ſummum ſuaſorem!* But they who ſay this are unworthy of reply.

CHAP. III.

Cenſure of Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman, on a ſpeech of Marcus Cato, delivered in the ſenate for the Rhodians. The anſwer which I have made to that cenſure.

THE city of Rhodes [1] was celebrated for the convenience of its inſular ſituation, the ſplendour of its works, its knowledge of navigation,

[1] *The city of Rhodes.*]—In my notes to Herodotus I have ſpoken at ſome length concerning the Rhodians, explaining their policy and their power.—The Engliſh reader may perhaps receive ſome benefit from conſulting the place, Vol. III. page 260. The coloſſus of Rhodes is memorable as one of the ſeven wonders of the world, and notorious to every ſchool-boy. Some few particulars concerning Rhodes, omitted in the note to which I allude, may not be unacceptable here. Cicero, in his Oration pro lege Manilia, teſtifies that, even within his remembrance, the Rhodians retained their national glory, and their naval ſkill. Conſult alſo the fourteenth book of Strabo, who ſpeaks of the Rhodians in terms of the higheſt commendation. According to Suidas, the Rhodians, from this circumſtance of their coloſſus, were named Colaſſaeis: there were other coloſſi celebrated in ancient hiſtory; but this of Rhodes was far the moſt diſtinguiſhed.—Learned men are not agreed about the etymology of the word Coloſſus. Some ſay it was ſo named from Coletus, an artiſt of Rhodes, who conſtructed this famous work: neither are writers better agreed about its height; it was probably of the height of about one hundred and twenty feet. Pliny ſays it was made by one Chares of Lindus, Book 34. chap. 7.

and naval victories. This city, though a friend and ally to the Roman people, was in friendſhip alſo with Perſes, ſon of Philip king of Macedon, who was at war with Rome. The Rhodians endeavoured, by frequent embaſſies to Rome, to heal the difference betwixt them. But as this pacification could not be accompliſhed, addreſſes were often made by many Rhodians in their public aſſemblies, that if peace were not obtained, the Rhodians ſhould aſſiſt the king againſt the Romans, though no public decree was paſſed on this matter. But when Perſes was conquered and taken priſoner [2], the Rhodians were in great alarm, from the many things which had been done and ſaid in their popular aſſemblies; and they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, who might palliate the temerity of ſome of their citizens, and clear them, as a body, from all imputation on their fi-

[2] *Priſoner.*]—In their treatment of this prince, the Romans by no means ſhewed their accuſtomed magnanimity. He was dragged in chains along the ſtreets of Rome, to grace, or rather to diſgrace the triumph of his conqueror. After repeated experience of the moſt ſevere and cruel treatment, he was permitted to expire in priſon.—His eldeſt ſon, Alexander, was compelled to follow the mean occupation of a carpenter for a livelihood. He lived, however, to triumph ſo far over his ill fortune, as to obtain an honourable office in the Roman ſenate. The hiſtory of kings and princes who, like Perſes, fell from their high eſtates to the abyſs of miſery, affords an uſeful but melancholy leſſon.—See this ſubject of the vanity of human wiſhes happily illuſtrated by Juvenal, in his tenth ſatire, and by Dr. Johnſon in his imitation of that poem.

delity.

delity. When the ambaſſadors came to Rome, and were admitted into the ſenate, and, after ſpeaking in ſupplicatory terms, had again departed, the queſtion began to be put; and when part of the ſenate complained of the Rhodians, and affirmed them to be ill-intentioned, and thought that war ſhould be declared againſt them, M. Cato aroſe: He throughout aſſerted, that allies ſo excellent and faithful, upon the plunder and poſſeſſion of whoſe riches, not a few of the principal men were earneſtly reſolved, ſhould be protected and preſerved. He made that famous oration, which is ſeparately preſerved, and is inſcribed "Pro Rhodienſibus," and which is in the fifth book of Origins. Tiro Tullius, the freedman of M. Cicero, was a man of an elegant mind, and by no means ignorant of ancient literature. He was, from an early age, liberally inſtructed, and employed by Cicero himſelf as an aſſiſtant and companion in his ſtudies. But indeed he preſumed farther than might be tolerated or forgiven. He wrote a letter to Q. Axius [3], the friend of his patron, with too great boldneſs and warmth, in which he ſeemed to himſelf to have criticiſed this oration for the Rhodians with extreme acuteneſs and ſubtlety of judgment. From this epiſtle I may perhaps be allowed to examine ſome of his animadverſions, reprehending indeed Tiro with greater propri-

[3] *Axius.*] For Axius ſome would in this place read Atticus.

ety, than he on this occaſion obſerved towards Cato. The fault he firſt found was, that Cato ignorantly and abſurdly, in his exordium, uſed a ſtyle of too much inſolence, ſeverity, and reproach, when he declared himſelf afraid, leſt the ſenate, from the joy and exultation of their ſucceſſes, being unhinged in their minds, ſhould act unwiſely, and prove themſelves but ill qualified properly to comprehend and deliberate. He remarks, "That patrons, at the beginning, who plead for the accuſed, ought to ſooth and conciliate the judges; and that, keeping their minds on the ſtretch of ſuſpenſe and expectation, they ſhould ſooth them by modeſt and complimentary expreſſions, and not irritate them by inſolent and imperious menaces." He then added the exordium, which was this:

"I know that with moſt men, happy, affluent, and proſperous affairs will uſually elevate the mind, and increaſe and promote their pride and ferocity[4]; it is therefore of great concern

[4] *Ferocity.*] See this ſentiment expreſſed with great force by Juvenal, in his ſketch of the character of Sejanus. The paſſage to which I allude it is not impoſſible but Gray might have in mind when he wrote his Ode on the Proſpect of Eton College—

Ambition this ſhall teach to riſe,
Then whirl the wretch from high,
To bitter ſcorn a ſacrifice,
And grinning infamy.

Conſult alſo our Shakeſpeare's deſcription of the character of Wolſey.

with

with me, as this matter has ſucceeded ſo fortunately, leſt any thing adverſe happen in our conſultation, to allay our good fortune; and that this our exultation may not become too extravagant. Adverſe affairs check themſelves[5], and teach what is neceſſary to be done; thoſe which are proſperous are apt, from the joy of them, to thruſt people aſide from wiſe conſultation and comprehenſion. I therefore the more ſtrenuouſly adviſe that this matter be deferred for ſome days, till, from ſuch exceſs of joy, we again become maſters of ourſelves." Of what Cato next ſays, he affirms:

"That they are a confeſſion, not a defence; nor are they a removal or transferring of the crime, but a participation of it with many others, which has nothing to do with juſtification. Moreover," continues he, "he acknowledges, that the Rhodians, who were accuſed of favouring and wiſhing well to the king, in oppoſition to the Romans, were impelled to theſe ſentiments by views of intereſt; leſt the Romans, by the conqueſt of king Perſes, ſhould be elated to an extravagant degree of pride and inſolence." He quotes the words themſelves, which I ſubjoin; "I indeed muſt confeſs that the Rhodians did not wiſh us

[5] *Check themſelves.*] In the original it is "domant ſe," literally tame themſelves; thus Gray calls adverſity the tamer of the human breaſt.

to fight as we have fought, nor that we ſhould overcome king Perſes; but I think alſo that many people and nations wiſhed the ſame; and I do not know whether ſome of them might not be averſe to our ſucceſs, not from a deſire to ſee us diſgraced, but becauſe they apprehended that if there was no one whom we feared, and we had no limits to our will, they muſt then be under our ſole dominion, and in ſervitude to us. I believe they were of this opinion, from a regard to their own liberty; nor did the Rhodians ever publicly aſſiſt Perſes. Reflect with how much greater circumſpection we act in our private characters, one among another. Each of us, if we think that any thing is imagined againſt our intereſt, oppoſe it with all our force, that it may not take effect: but this people nevertheleſs ſubmitted."

With reſpect to his cenſure of the introduction, Tiro ought to have known that the Rhodians were defended by Cato in the character of a ſenator, of a man of conſular and cenſorial dignity, adviſing what he deemed beſt for the public, not merely as a patron[7] pleading the cauſe of the accuſed. One kind of exordium is proper to thoſe who defend the accuſed before judges, wiſhing, by all poſſi-

[7] *Not merely as a patron.*] The good ſenſe of this reply will ſtrike the ſlighteſt obſerver, and fully anſwers the objection and cavil of Tiro.

ble

them, for if we do not, we ſhall be oppreſſed, and ſhall fall into thoſe ſnares againſt which we omitted to take previous caution. Lucilius, he adds, properly imputes this fault to the poet Euripides, becauſe, when king Polyphontes ſaid that he had killed his brother, becauſe his brother had previouſly concerted his death, Merope, his brother's wife, reproved him in theſe lines;

If, as thou ſay'ſt[9], my huſband meant to ſlay thee,
Yet art thou bound to ſheathe thy vengeful blade
Until that time arrive when he reſolv'd
To have accompliſhed his inhuman purpoſe.

But this, he remarks, is full of abſurdity, to wiſh to do any thing with that deſign and purpoſe, that indeed you may never accompliſh what you intend. But indeed Tiro did not reflect that in all kinds of precaution, the ſame rule did not apply; and that the buſineſs and duties of human life, with reſpect to anticipation, delay, revenge, or caution, did not reſemble the battles of gladiators; for the fortune of gladiators prepared to engage, was of this kind, either to kill if they ſhould conquer, or to die if they ſhould yield[10]. But the life of men

[9] *If, as thou ſay'ſt.*] I have given the verſion of Mr. Wodhull.

[10] *Should yield.*] The preſervation of a conquered gladiator did not depend upon his adverſary, but on the caprice of the ſpectators, and was determined by a motion of the thumb.

When

men is not circumſcribed by ſuch unjuſt or inſuperable neceſſity, that you ought firſt to commit an injury, leſt, by not ſo doing, you ſhould endure it[11]. So far was it from the humanity of the Roman people to anticipate, that they often neglected to avenge injuries committed againſt themſelves. He afterwards aſſerts, that in this oration Cato has uſed arguments both diſingenuous and too audacious, not at all proper for ſuch a man as he was, but full of art and deceit, reſembling the fallacies of Greek ſophiſts. For when, ſays he, it was objected to the Rhodians that they wiſhed to make war on the Roman people, he did not pretend to deny it, but he required that it ſhould be forgiven, becauſe they had not done it, although they greatly deſired it: that he had alſo introduced what the logicians call *epagoge*[12], which is indeed both inſidious and ſophiſtical, not ſo much calculated for truth as for cavil, endeavouring to enforce and confirm by fallacious examples, that no one who wiſhed to do ill could juſtly be puniſhed, unleſs he had actually done

When the gladiator was overcome he lowered his arms; if the ſpectators wiſhed his life to be ſaved, pollicem premebant, they turned down their thumbs; if they wiſhed him to be put to death, pollicem vertebant, they turned up their thumbs.

[11] *Endure it.*] This is a generous and noble ſentiment, and worthy the more pure and chaſtened ſpirit of the goſpel.

[12] *Epagoge.*] That is, a compariſon of things or arguments reſembling each other.

that

that which he wiſhed to do [13]. The words of Cato in this oration are theſe:

"He who ſpeaks with greateſt acrimony againſt them, ſays this, that they deſired to become enemies. And who is there among us, who as far as he himſelf is concerned, would think it right that any one ſhould ſuffer puniſhment becauſe it was proved that he deſired to do ill? No one, I believe, for, as far as relates to myſelf, I certainly would not." Then a little afterwards he adds, "And I would aſk, where is the law ſo ſevere as to aſſert, if any one ſhall deſire to do this, let him be fined a thouſand ſeſterces? If any one ſhall wiſh to have more than five hundred acres, let him be fined as much: if any one ſhall wiſh to have a greater number of cattle, let him be fined as much; but we all of us wiſh to have more than we already poſſeſs [14], and do ſo with impunity." Afterwards he adds, "But if it be not juſt that honour ſhould be given to him who ſays he wiſhed to do well, but really did not, ſhall it be injurious to the Rhodians, not that they acted ill, but that it is reported of them that they wiſhed to do ill?"

[13] *Wiſhed to do.*] Such, however, is the ſublime morality of the goſpel, which ſays of him who looketh with concupiſcence on the wife of another, that he hath already committed the act of adultery in his heart.

[14] *Already poſſeſs.*] There are indeed very few who do not occaſionally indulge a wiſh like this expreſſed by Horace:

Oh ſi angulus iſte
Proximus accedet qui nunc denormat agellum.

By

By ſuch arguments Tiro Tullius affirms that Cato ſtrenuouſly contended that the Rhodians ſhould not be puniſhed, becauſe, though they deſired to become the enemies of the Roman people, they really did not. It cannot, he allows, be conteſted, that the facts were by no means parallel, to deſire to have more than five hundred acres, which by a decree of the people was forbidden to coloniſts, and to deſire to make an unjuſt and impious war on the Roman people; nor could it be denied that the one was deſerving of reward, the other of puniſhment. Services, ſays he, which are promiſed ought to be waited for, and certainly ought not to be rewarded till they are performed. But it is right to guard againſt impending injuries, rather than expect them. It is the height of folly, he obſerves, not to meet concerted injuries, but to wait and expect them; but when they are perpetrated and endured, then finally, when, being done they cannot be hindered, to puniſh them. Theſe are the cold and inſignificant objections which Tiro has brought againſt Cato. But Cato has not introduced this epagoge naked, ſolitary, and defenceleſs, but he has ſtrengthened it by various means, and ſupported it by many arguments; and becauſe he conſulted not more for the Rhodians than for the commonwealth, he deemed nothing baſe that he ſaid and did in this matter, as he attempted to obtain the preſervation of allies by every kind of opinion: and firſt he not unſkilfully accompliſh-

ed

ed this, which is neither forbidden by the law of nations nor the law of nature, but by the influence of laws iſſued to remedy any evil, or to obtain time, ſuch as the number of cattle, the limits preſcribed to land, and other ſimilar things; in which things, what is forbidden by the law to be done, may not, according to the law, be done; but to deſiſt to do this, if it be poſſible, is not diſhonourable. And theſe things he inſenſibly compared and confounded with that which by itſelf it is not honeſt either to do or wiſh to do; then finally, leſt the unſuitableneſs of the compariſon ſhould be obvious, he ſtrengthens it by various modes of defence; nor does he give much importance to the trifling but thoroughly ſifted cenſures of the will in things forbidden; which, in philoſophic caſes, are matters of diſpute; but he exerts his whole force in this alone, that the cauſe of the Rhodians, whoſe friendſhip it was the intereſt of the republic to retain, ſhould be conſidered either as juſt, or at leaſt ſhould be forgiven; in the mean time he affirms, that the Rhodians neither made war, nor deſired to do ſo. He alledges alſo, that facts alone ought to be weighed and judged, but that the mere inclination, unſupported by any act, was neither obnoxious to the laws, nor to puniſhment. Sometimes, indeed, he ſeemingly concedes that they had offended, and he implores their pardon, and teaches that forgiveneſs is eſſential to human affairs. If they ſhould refuſe this pardon, he alarms them with fears of tumults in the commonwealth: on the contrary, if they ſhould grant this pardon,

he ſhews them that the magnanimity of the Roman people would be preſerved. The imputation of pride, which at this time, among other things, was in the ſenate objected to the Rhodians, he turns off, and eludes by an admirable and almoſt divine mode of reply.—We will add the words of Cato, ſince Tiro has omitted them:

"They ſay that the Rhodians are haughty; an imputation I would deſire to avert from me and from my children. Let them be proud; what is that to us? ſhall we be angry that any are prouder than ourſelves?"

Nothing poſſibly could be introduced with more dignity and ſtrength than this apoſtrophe againſt the haughtieſt of mankind, who, loving pride in themſelves, reprobated it in others. We may alſo obſerve in the whole of Cato's oration, that all the aids and implements of the rhetorical diſcipline were brought forwards, but by no means as in mock fights [1], or in thoſe carried on for amuſement and pleaſure; the matter, I ſay, was not agitated with an exceſſive degree of refinement, diſcrimination, and order, but as it were in a doubtful engagement, when the troops being ſcattered, it is in various places fought with doubtful fortune. So in this cauſe, when the pride of the Rhodians had notoriouſly provoked univerſal hatred and envy, he uſed promiſcuouſly every mode of protection and defence. Sometimes he commends them

[1] *Mock fights.*]—Simulachris præliorum. Thus in Virgil:

Bellique cient ſimulachra ſub armis.

as

as having the greateſt merit, ſometimes he exculpates them as innocent, though he reprehends them for a laviſh waſte of their wealth and fortunes. Again he attempts to extenuate what they had done, as if they had really done wrong, then he points out their natural claims on the republic; finally, he reminds them of the clemency and generoſity of their anceſtors, and of the common good. All which things, if they could have been introduced with more perſpicuity, method, and harmony, certainly could not have been ſaid with more ſtrength and energy. Tiro Tullius has therefore acted an unjuſt part, having ſingled out from the various qualities of ſo rich an oration, happily connected with each other, a ſmall and naked portion, as an object of his ſatire; as if it were unworthy M. Cato to aſſert that the mere propenſity to faults not actually perpetrated ought not to be puniſhed: but whoever will take in hand the entire oration of Cato, and carefully examine and peruſe the letter of Tiro to Axius, will be able to form a more correct and ſatisfactory judgment of the reply which I have made to Tullius Tiro. He will thus be enabled more accurately and more perfectly to correct and approve what I have advanced.

CHAP. IV.

What ſort of ſervants thoſe were that Cælius Sabinus, the Civilian, ſays were expoſed to ſale with caps on[1]. *The reaſon of this. What ſlaves were anciently ſold,* "ſub coronâ," *and the meaning of this phraſe.*

CÆLIUS SABINUS, the Civilian, has recorded that certain ſlaves were uſed to be expoſed to ſale, with caps upon their heads, and the ſeller of ſuch ſlaves did not anſwer for them.—The reaſon of

[1] *With caps.*]—The explanation of this is attended with ſome ſmall difficulty.—Pileus, or the Cap, was the emblem of liberty, and we learn from Livy and Plautus, that when ſlaves were made free they were termed Pileati.—Slaves in general, when ſold, had their heads bare. Were theſe ſlaves then, for whom the ſeller was not reſponſible, of a higher order, as being entitled to this diſtinction? To me it ſeems probable that they were. When a ſlave was made free, his head was ſhaved, and he wore the cap of freedom. Thus Soſia ſays in Plautus:

So ſhall I directly
Cover my ſhorn crown with the cap of freedom.

Thoſe alſo were called Servi Pileati, who preceded the funeral of their maſters. If any perſon in his will gave liberty to any of his ſlaves, they immediately ſhaved their crowns, and walked in proceſſion as freemen, with caps on their heads, before the funeral proceſſion of their maſter. Slaves made free were called ſlaves ad pileum vocati, called to the cap. It will be ſeen that my opinion on this ſubject is different from that

of which, according to him, was, that ſlaves of this deſcription ought ſo to be marked whilſt on ſale, that the buyers could not be miſtaken or deceived, nor could the law of ſale be perplexed. But it was immediately obvious what kind of ſlaves they were. "Thus," ſays he, "anciently, ſlaves taken in war were brought forth wearing garlands, and therefore were ſaid to be ſold ſub corona. For as this garland was a ſign of captives being ſold, ſo the cap indicated that ſlaves of that kind were to be ſold, concerning whom the ſeller did not make himſelf reſponſible to the purchaſer."

But there is another explanation of this, why captives were ſaid to be ſold "ſub corona," becauſe ſoldiers, by way of ſecurity, ſtood round a number of captives expoſed to ſale, and this circle of ſoldiers was called corona. But that what I have before alledged is nearer the truth, we learn from Cato in his book De Re Militari. Theſe are Cato's words: "The people on their own account would rather crowned offer ſupplication on account of good ſucceſs, than, being crowned, be ſold from ill ſucceſs."

that given by Mr. Adams in page 35 of his Roman Antiquities. It may not be improper to add, that although the cap was an emblem of liberty, the Roman citizens did not wear it, they appeared in public with their heads uncovered; and therefore it is ſaid of Julius Cæſar, that he was exceedingly gratified by the permiſſion to wear a crown of laurel, which concealed his baldneſs.

CHAP. V.

Remarkable ſtory of Polus the player[1].

THERE was an actor in Greece of great celebrity, ſuperior to the reſt in the grace and harmony of his voice and action. His name it is ſaid was Polus, and he acted in the tragedies of the more eminent poets, with great knowledge and accuracy. This Polus loſt by death his only and beloved ſon. When he had ſufficiently indulged his natural grief, he returned to his employment. Being at this time to act the Electra of Sophocles at Athens, it was his part to carry an urn as containing the bones of Oreſtes. The argument of the fable is ſo imagined, that Electra, who is preſumed to carry the relics of her brother, laments and commiſerates his end, who is believed to have died a violent death. Polus

[1] The actors of Greece, and of Athens in particular were held in extraordinary eſtimation. We accordingly find that they were occaſionally employed on affairs of ſtate, and ſent on foreign embaſſies.—Thus we find, that in a ſolemn embaſſy ſent from Athens to Philip of Macedon, there were players, and that he diſtinguiſhed theſe with particular marks of kindneſs. On the Grecian theatre as well as on the Roman, the parts of women were performed by men, which cuſtom alſo prevailed in the earlier periods of the Engliſh ſtage.

therefore,

therefore, clad in the mourning habit of Electra, took from the tomb the bones and urn of his ſon, and as if embracing Oreſtes, filled the place, not with the image and imitation, but with the ſighs and lamentations of unfeigned ſorrow. Therefore, when a fable ſeemed to be repreſented, real grief was diſplayed.

CHAP. VI.

What Ariſtotle wrote on the natural defect of ſome of the ſenſes [1].

OF the five ſenſes which nature has given to animals, ſight, hearing, taſte, touch, and ſmell, called by the Greeks αισθησεις, ſome animals want one, ſome another, and are naturally produced either without ſight, ſmell, or hearing. But Ariſtotle affirms that no animal is born without

[1] Gellius is here guilty of a little lapſe of memory.—This quotation from Ariſtotle is not found in his tract on Memory, but in his treatiſe on Sleep and Watchfulneſs. Nature is very provident and very bountiful, for ſuch animals as are defective in any particular ſenſe, are notoriouſly excellent in thoſe which they poſſeſs.—We may truly ſay with Pope:

Whether with reaſon or with inſtinct bleſt,
Know all enjoy the power which ſuits them beſt.

the ſenſe of taſte or touch. The words from his book, "On Memory," are theſe: "Except the imperfect animals, all have touch and taſte."

CHAP. VII.

Whether the word affatim *ſhould be pronounced like* admodum, *with the acute accent on the firſt ſyllable; with certain obſervations on other words, not without their ingenuity.*

THE poet Annianus[1], beſides his other agreeable accompliſhments, was very well ſkilled in ancient literature and verbal criticiſm; he converſed alſo with a remarkable and learned gracefulneſs. He pronounced *affatim* as *admodum*, with the firſt not the middle ſyllable accented, and his opinion was that the ancients ſo pronounced it. He ſays that in his hearing Probus, the grammarian, thus read theſe verſes in the Ciſtellaria of Plautus:

[1] *Annianus*,]—This perſon's name again occurs in Book ix. c. 10.

Potin

Potin[2] es tu homo facinus facere ſtrenuum,
Aliorum eſt affatim qui faciant. Sane ego
Me volo fortem perhiberier virum.

The reaſon of this accent he affirmed was, that *affatim* was not two diſtinct parts of ſpeech, but both parts were united in one word, as in this which we call *exadverſum*, he thought the ſecond ſyllable ought to be made acute, becauſe it was one and not two parts of ſpeech, and that in Terence theſe two verſes ought to be read thus,

In quo[3] hæc diſcebat ludo, exadverſum loco
Tonſtrina erat quædam.

He added alſo, that the prepoſition *ad* was accented when it was uſed as we ſay intenſively, as *adfabre*,

[2] *Potin.*]—This fragment is thus tranſlated in Thornton's Plautus:

Are you a man that's fit to undertake
An enterprize of daring villainy?
There are enough beſides
Would undertake to do it.—I'm reſolv'd
To ſhew myſelf a man of courage.

Inſtead of Ciſtellaria, Gronovius recommends the reading of Clitellaria, from Clitellæ, which ſignifies a pack-ſaddle.

[3] *In quo.*]—There was a barber's ſhop oppoſite the place where ſhe went to ſchool.

Barbers ſhops at Athens and at Rome were reſorted to by the idle and curious to diſcuſs the topics of the day, as not many years ſince was cuſtomary in this country.—I believe that it is ſtill the caſe in country-towns and villages remote from the metropolis.

admodum, and *adprobe*. In other reſpects alſo Annianus was very ſenſible in his remarks. But he thought that this particle *ad*, when uſed intenſively, ought to be acute; but this is not without exception, for we ſay *adpotus* as well as *adprimus* and *adprimi*, in all which *ad* is uſed intenſively; nor is the particle *ad* properly pronounced with an acute accent. But in *adprobus*, which ſignifies *valde probus*, I cannot deny but that it ought to be made acute in the firſt ſyllable. Cæcilius, in his comedy which is called *Triumphus*, uſes this word,

Hierocles[4] hoſpes eſt mihi, adoleſcens *adprobus*.

In theſe words, therefore, which we ſay ought not to have the acute accent, is it that the ſyllable which follows is long by nature, which does not admit the firſt ſyllable to be accented in words of more than two ſyllables? L. Livius, in his Odyſſey, uſes *adprimum*, with the firſt ſyllable long, in this verſe:

Ibi[5] denique vir ſummus adprimus Patroclus.

The ſame Livius in his Odyſſey ſays *præmodum* like *admodum*. Thus *parcentes præmodum*, which ſignifies *ſupra modum*, and it is uſed as it were *præter modum*, in which the firſt ſyllable ought to have the acute accent.

[4] *Hierocles.*]—Hierocles is my gueſt, a moſt deſerving youth.

[5] *Ibi.*]—There alſo Patrocles a man in the firſt degree illuſtrious,

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Incredible ſtory of a dolphin who loved a youth.

THAT dolphins are of a wanton and amorous nature, is declared as well by ancient hiſtory [1] as by recent narratives. For in the time of the Cæſars [2], as Apion has related, in the ſea of Puteoli, and ſome ages before, off Naupactum, according to Theophraſtus, certain dolphins were known and proved to be vehemently amorous. Neither were they thus attached to their own ſpecies, but in a wonderful manner, and like human beings, felt a paſſion for youths of an ingenuous appearance, whom they had ſeen in veſſels or on the ſhore I have ſubjoined the words of Apion [3], a learned man, from his fifth book

[1] *Ancient hiſtory.*]—See in the firſt book of Herodotus the ſtory of Arion, who was preſerved by a dolphin, which ſeemed to receive delight from muſical ſounds.

[2] *Time of the Cæſars.*]—Pliny relates that this happened in the time of Auguſtus Cæſar, who lived the century before Gellius.

[3] *Apion.*]—See Book v. chap. 14. the ſtory of Androcles and the lion, related by this ſame Apion; who appears to have been, in every ſenſe of the word, a ſtory-teller. This title has a pertinent parallel in Shakeſpeare, where Autolycus produces

book on Egyptian Affairs, in which he relates the intimacy, ſport, and actions of an amorous dolphin, and of a youth not diſliking it, affirming that he and many others witneſſed this:

"And I myſelf, near Dicæarchia, ſaw a dolphin who loved a youth, and who was obedient to his voice; for the fiſh when ſwimming, took the youth upon his back, and drew in his fins, that he might not wound him whom he loved: he then carried him, as if mounted on a horſe, to the diſtance of two hundred ſtadia. Rome and all Italy were collected to ſee a fiſh acting thus from love."

To this he adds what is no leſs wonderful.—"Afterwards," he continues, "this boy beloved by the dolphin died from ſome diſeaſe: but the dolphin ſwimming, in his uſual manner, frequently

produces a ballad for ſale, "Of a fiſh that appeared upon the coaſt on Wedneſday the fourſcore of April, forty thouſand fathom above water, and ſung this ballad againſt the hard hearts of maids.—It was thought ſhe was a woman, and was turned into a cod fiſh, for ſhe would not exchange fleſh with one that loved her.—This ballad is very pitiful, and as true."

See a ſimilar ſtory related by Pliny, Book ix. chap. 8. Some of the moſt beautiful antiques which have been preſerved repreſent Cupids riding on the backs of dolphins.

The reader will find ſome whimſical things on the paſſion which ſome animals have entertained for men in the thirteenth book of Athenæus.—We are there told of a cock which was enamoured of an eunuch, of a ſheep in love with a child, of a peacock in love with a young woman, which died when ſhe died; laſtly, the ſame author tells a tale of a dolphin entirely reſembling the one recorded in the chapter before us.

to the ſhore, when he ſaw that the boy, who uſed to meet him on the firſt ſhoal, did not appear, languiſhed and died alſo*; and being found on the ſhore by thoſe who knew the circumſtance, he was buried in the tomb of his favourite."

* *Died alſo.*]—Inſtances will probably occur to the recollection of the reader, of dogs who on the death of their maſters have languiſhed and died alſo.—The example of Argus in Homer, who expired from joy on ſeeing Ulyſſes, muſt doubtleſs be familiar,

Thus near the gates, conferring as they drew,
Argus, the dog, his ancient maſter knew;
He, not unconſcious of the voice and tread,
Lifts to the ſound his ear, and rears his head.
* * * * * * * * *
He knew his lord,—he knew, and ſtrove to meet,
In vain he ſtrove to crawl and kiſs his feet;
Yet all he could, his tail, his ears, his eyes,
Salute his maſter, and confeſs his joys.
* * * * * * * * *
The dog, whom Fate had granted to behold
His lord, when twenty tedious years had roll'd,
Takes a laſt look, and having ſeen him, dies;
So cloſ'd for ever faithful Argus' eyes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Many ancient writers uſed pepoſci, memordi, ſpepondi, *and* cecurri, *not as afterwards with* o *or* u *in the firſt ſyllable, but with* e, *according to the Greek uſage. Moreover, many men, neither unlearned nor vulgar, from the verb* deſcendo *ſaid not* deſcendi, *but* deſcendidi.

PEPOSCI, memordi, pepugi, cucurri, ſeem to be proper[1], and now almoſt all our learned men uſe words of this kind. But Q.

[1] *To be proper.*]—What is noted in this chapter muſt unavoidably happen in all languages. Words which at one period are conſidered as elegant and proper will, in the progreſs of any language towards refinement, become obſolete and vulgar: yet the public taſte is not in this reſpect always correct or juſt; caprice and faſhion will often contradict and ſuperſede the judgment, and words and expreſſions which have both force and beauty will grow into diſuſe without any adequate reaſon. This is certainly true, in the Engliſh and other languages.—Words occur in Shakeſpeare which have admirable effect, but the uſe of which would now be thought inelegant and improper. Here, however, the remark of Horace is pertinent:

Quid autem
Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio, Varoque.

Ita verborum vetus interit ætas
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata, vigentque.

Ennius,

Ennius, in his Satires, wrote *memorderit* with an *e*, and not momorderit.—Thus he ſays,

Meum non eſt, at ſi me canis memorderit.

So alſo Laberius[2] in his Galli—De integro patrimonio meo centum millia nummum *memordi*. The ſame Laberius alſo, in his Colorator—Itaque levi pruna percoctus ſimul ſub dentes mulieris veni, bis ter *memordit*. So P. Nigidius, in his ſecond book of Annals—Serpens ſi *memordit*, gallina deligitur et opponitur. So Plautus, in his Aulularia—*Admemordit* hominem: But the ſame Plautus, in his Trigemini, ſaid not *præmordiſſe*, nor præmemordiſſe, but præmorſiſſe, as

Ni fugiſſem medium credo præmorſiſſet.

Atta[3] alſo, in his Conciliatrix—Urſum ſe memordiſſe autumat. Valerius Antias too, in his forty-fifth book of Annals, has ſaid *pepoſci*, and not *poposci*.

Denique Licinius Tribunus Plebi perduellionis ei diem dixit et comitiis diem, a Q. Martio

[2] *Laberius, &c.*]—See Barthius, p. 400, where this play of Laberius is alſo quoted.

[3] *Atta.*]—This is Quinctius Atta the poet.—The name of Atta, according to Feſtus, was uſually given to thoſe who laboured under ſome defect in their feet, which diſabled them from walking. This Atta is mentioned thus by Horace;

Recte necne crocum floreſque perambulat Attæ
Fabula, ſi dubitem: clament periiſſe pudorem
Cuncti pene patres.

From this paſſage we may conclude that the writings of Atta, who indeed lived in the Auguſtan age, were very popular.

prætore

prætore *pepoſcit*. *Pepugero* is alſo uſed by Attâ, in his Ædelicia—Sed ſi *pepugero* metuet. Probus has remarked, that Ælius Tubero, in his book written to C. Oppius, uſed *occecurrerit*, and has given his words—Si generalis ſpecies *occecurrit*. The ſame Probus has obſerved, that Valerius Antias, in his twelfth book of Hiſtories, has written *ſpeponderant*. He gives the paſſage thus—Tiberius Gracchus qui quæſtor C. Mancino in Hiſpaniæ fuerat et ceteri qui pacem *ſpepondérant*; but the reaſon of theſe words may ſeem to be this: As the Greeks, in one of the modifications of the præterite, namely the perfect præterite, often change into *e*, the ſecond letter of the word, as γραφω γεγραφα, ποιω πεποιηκα, λαλω λελαληκα, κρατω κεκρατηκα, λεω λελεκα; ſo alſo, mordeo memordi, poſco pepoſci, tendo tetendi, tango tetigi, pungo pepugi, ſpondeo ſpepondi, curro cecurri, tollo tetuli. M. Tullius and C. Cæſar have uſed mordeo memordi, pungo pepugi, and ſpondeo ſpepondi. Moreover, I find that from the word ſcindo, by ſimilar reaſoning, ſeſciderat is written, not ſciderat. L. Attius, in his firſt book of Sotadici[4], ſaid ſeſciderat. Theſe

[4] *Sotadici.*]—This name was given to obſcene poems, written in a particular metre.—They were ſo called from their inventor, Sotades, a poet of Thrace. The peculiarity of the verſes was, that they might be read either way, without injury either to the metre or the ſenſe, of which the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen:

Si bene te tua laus taxat, ſua laute tenebis.

are

are his words: Non ergo aquila ita, uti prædicant *ſceſciderat* pectus. Ennius[s] alſo, and Valerius Antias, in his ſeventy-fifth book of Hiſtories, has written thus: Deinde furore locato ad forum *deſcendidit*. Laberius alſo, in his Catularius, ſaid

Ego mirabar quomodo mammæ mihi *deſcendiderant*.

[s] *Ennius.*]—This paſſage is evidently corrupt, and ſome words without doubt are wanting.

CHAP. X.

Uſuſcapio is an entire word, and uſed in the nominative caſe. So alſo is pignoriſcapio.

AS uſuſcapio is uſed as an entire word, the letter *a* being made long, ſo pignoriſcapio is in like manner combined, and pronounced long.—Theſe are the words of Cato, in his firſt book of Epiſtolary Queſtions:

"Pignoriſcapio is a diſtinct word of itſelf, on account of the military pay which the ſoldier was accuſtomed to take from the pay-maſter tribune[t]."

From

[t] *Pay-maſter tribune.*]—This was an officer of inferior rank, and not improbably correſponding with the pay-maſter ſerjeants

From which it is evident that we may ſay hanc capionem, as hanc captionem, both with reſpect to uſus and pignus.

CHAP. XI.

The ſignification of "levitas" and "nequitia" is not that which we uſually give them.

I UNDERSTAND that "levitas" is now generally uſed to ſignify inconſtancy and mutability, and "nequitia" for artifice and cunning. But they among the ancients who ſpoke properly and correctly called thoſe *leves* whom now we term vile, and worthy of no eſteem: *levitas* accordingly was as *vilitas*, and *nequam* was applied to a man of no character or conſequence, whom the Greeks call "an abandoned, looſe, worthleſs, immoral, or profligate perſon." He who wiſhes for examples of theſe words, needs not go far, he will find them in Cicero's ſecond Oration againſt Antony. For when he was about to point out the extreme

ſerjeants of our troops. Though their rank ſeems to have been inferior, yet the richer of the Plebeians were ſelected for this office. Their importance ſeems to have been ſomewhat diminiſhed by Auguſtus, who added two hundred to their number, in order to judge cauſes of more trifling moment.

meanneſs

meanneſs of the life and conduct of Antony, that he lingered in taverns, that he drank late, that he walked with his face covered that he might not be known: reproaching him with theſe and other things, he ſays, *videte hominis levitatem*; as if with this imputation he branded the man with all theſe marks of diſgrace. Afterwards, when he was heaping upon the ſame Antony other ſarcaſtical and opprobrious accuſations, he adds this at the concluſion: "*Oh hominem nequam*; I can uſe no term more properly than this." But from the ſame place I think it expedient to add more of Cicero's words:

"Obſerve the levity of the man,—about the tenth hour[1] of the day he came to the Red Rocks, and concealed himſelf in a certain tavern: here, ſhutting himſelf up, he drank till night; thence in his carriage he returned ſwiftly to the city, having his face covered[2]. The porter ſays, Who

[1] *Tenth hour.*]—That is, two hours before ſun-ſet.—*The Red Rocks* was a place betwixt Rome and Veii. See Livy, book the ſeeond. Here fell the family of Fabii. It is now called *Grotta Roſſa.*

[2] *Face covered.*]—This expreſſion gives us an inſight into the private manners of the Romans. We learn that it was uſual for people of both ſexes, when they went abroad in the night, or upon any occaſion, when they did not chooſe to be known, to hide their faces. This was probably done, not by wearing any diſtinct veil, but merely by drawing their toga over the face. Thus in Juvenal, Meſſalina, when viſiting the brothels, is deſcribed as having her face concealed.

are you? A meſſenger from Marcus. He is then introduced to the lady, for whoſe ſake he came, and gives her a letter. This ſhe read with tears, for it was very amorouſly written: its ſubſtance was this, that in future he would have no connection with the actreſs: that he had taken all his love from one, and given it to the other. When the woman wept plentifully, the compaſſionate man could not bear it, he revealed his face, and threw himſelf on her neck. *O hominem nequam*[1], for what epithet can I more properly apply? Therefore, that the woman might unexpectedly behold you as a hireling boy, you filled the city with nocturnal alarms, and ſpread for many days a terror through Italy."

In like manner alſo Q. Claudius, in his firſt book of Annals, called a luxurious life, and one licentious and profligate, *nequitiam*—"Perſuading a certain young man, named Lucanus, who was of the very firſt rank, but who had waſted great wealth by luxury and *nequitia*."

M. Varro, in his book on the Latin tongue, ſays, "That as from *non* and *volo*, *nolo* is made, ſo from *ne* and *quicquam*, the middle ſyllable being taken away, *nequam* is formed."

[1] *Nequam.*]—O worthleſs man! The word is combined from the two words *ne* and *quidquam*, as *nolo* is produced from *non* and *volo*.

The term *nequitia* ſeems generally to have implied a combination of luxury with voluptuouſneſs. It is perhaps moſt frequently applied as expreſſive of amorous extravagance.

P. Afri-

P. Africanus, ſpeaking for himſelf before the Roman people, and concerning a fine, ſays,

"All the evils, vices, and crimes which men commit, proceed from malice and profligacy. Which do you defend, malice, profligacy, or both? If you wiſh to defend profligacy, you may: but you have waſted more wealth upon one proſtitute than you have given in to the cenſor as the value of the whole Sabine farm: who will wager a thouſand ſeſterces that this is not ſo? But you have conſumed more than a third part of your paternal inheritance on your vices: who will lay a thouſand ſeſterces that it is not ſo? You will not then have profligacy, at leaſt you will defend malice; but you willingly and deliberately have ſworn in a preciſe form of words: who will venture a thouſand ſeſterces that this is not ſo?"

CHAP. XII.

Of the garments called chiridotæ—Publius Africanus reproved Sulpicius Gallus for wearing them.

IT was diſhonourable[1] in Rome, and in all Latium, for a man to wear a veſt which deſcended below his arms, to the extremity of his hands, near the fingers. Such veſts our countrymen

[1] The Romans, like all other nations, when a ſmall and humble people, were remarkable for the ſimplicity of their dreſs and manners. But as their power encreaſed, and wealth multiplied, luxury ſtole in, and ſplendour and magnificence expelled neatneſs:—

Baniſh'd from man's life, his happieſt life,
Simplicity and ſpotleſs innocence.

That theſe tunics with ſleeves were at firſt reckoned effeminate, we learn from Cicero, and the paſſage from Virgil quoted in this chapter, which I ſubjoin at length from the 9th Æneid:

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice veſtis,
Deſidiæ cordi, juvat indulgere choreis,
Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ,
O vere Phrygiæ neque enim Phryges, &c.

Cicero alſo reproaches Catiline with exhibiting a like proof of degeneracy. Theſe long ſleeves, when firſt introduced, were plain and unadorned, but afterwards Julius Cæſar ſet the faſhion of wearing them with fringes, probably in the manner of modern ruffles.

The

men call by a Greek name, Chirodotæ, and they thought that a long and flowing garment was proper for women only, protecting their arms and legs from ſight. The Romans at firſt were cloathed without tunics, and with the toga only; afterwards they wore cloſe and ſhort tunics below the ſhoulders, which the Greeks call ἐξωμίδας. P. Africanus, the ſon of Paulus, a man accompliſhed in every good art and every virtue, among other things with which he reproached Sulpicius Gallus, an effeminate man, objected this alſo, that he wore veſts which covered the whole of his hands *. Theſe are Scipio's words:

The writing the above note has brought to my recollection a phraſe in our language, which ſeems no improper ſubject of enquiry in this place. When a perſon undertakes any thing which is mean or contemptible, we often ſay he has been upon a ſleeveleſs buſineſs. It ſhould ſeem from ſome paſſages in Shakeſpeare, and the writers before him, that anciently in this country the ſleeve was a mark of gentility. The ſimilitude of which circumſtance to the cuſtom obſerved in ancient Rome, ſeems curious and remarkable.

* *Whole of his hands.*]—The uſe of gloves, or any covering for the hands, implies a conſiderable degree not only of refinement but effeminacy. I have taken ſome pains to find in what nation, and at what period, gloves were firſt introduced, but without ſucceſs: they were certainly in uſe in this country at a very remote time, as appears from various paſſages in our oldeſt writers. It is a curious incident, though it muſt be confeſſed not altogether pertinent to the ſubject before us, that gloves were in this country worn in the hat, from three very different occaſions—in memory of a friend, as a favour from a miſtreſs, and as a mark of accepting a challenge.

" For he who every day perfumes himſelf, and dreſſes by a looking-glaſs, whoſe eyebrows are ſhaved, and who without a beard walks with thighs alſo bare; who at entertainments, being a young man, reſting below his lover with his *tunica chirodota*; who is not only fond of drink but of men; can any one doubt but that he does what catamites do?"

Virgil alſo reprobates veſts of this kind as effeminate and diſgraceful.

Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ.

Quintus Ennius alſo ſeems to have called the Carthaginian youth *tunicatam*, reproachfully.

CHAP. XIII.

Whom M. Cato calls classicus, *whom* infra classem.

THE term *classici*[1] was applied, not to all those who were *in classibus*, in the classes, but only to men of the first class, who were rated at a hundred and twenty thousand pounds of brass. The term *infra classem* was applied to all those of the second and under classes, who were rated at a sum less than that mentioned above. I have cursorily noticed this, because in the oration of M. Cato, in which he recommends the Voconian law[2], it is enquired what *classicus* is, and what *infra classem*.

[1] *Classici.*]—From this is derived our English word classic, which is applied precisely with the same meaning. The authors of most distinguished reputation in any language are denominated the classics in that language.

The term classici, it may be observed, was also applied by the Romans to the nautæ, remiges, or crew of a ship.

[2] *Voconian law.*]—This law is quoted by Cicero, in his second Oration against Verres. The name of the author was Voconius, and its object was to limit the fortunes that might be left to females. The law was annulled by Augustus.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the three kinds of eloquence, and of the three philoſophers ſent on an embaſſy by the Athenians to the Roman Senate.

BOTH in verſe and proſe there are three approved forms of ſpeaking, called by the Greeks χαρακτηρες, and diſtinguiſhed by the terms αδρον, ισχνον, μεσον. The firſt we call *copious* [1], the

[1] *Copious.*]—See the animadverſions of H. Stephens, at this paſſage, in his edition of Gellius: αδρος, which is here interpreted copious, means alſo magnificent; ισχνος means not only graceful but acute; μεσος is not merely that which is middle, but that which is mixed and moderate.

Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres, has entered very diffuſely on the ſubject of ſtyle; and I refer the reader to him, rather than to any other modern writer, becauſe he has made it more particularly his buſineſs to inveſtigate this ſubject, and illuſtrate it by comparing modern with ancient writers.

This diviſion of ſtyle is made alſo by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus; he calls theſe three kinds the auſtere, the florid, and the middle.

A diſſertation upon ſtyle would here be impertinent: perhaps, after all, it is abſurd to lay down any preciſe rules for the formation of ſtyle.

> Firſt follow nature, and your judgment frame
> By her juſt ſtandard, which is ſtill the ſame;

Unerring

the next *graceful*, the third *middle*. The copious is that which comprehends dignity and grandeur; the graceful is that which is becoming and neat; the middle is partaker of both theſe. To theſe virtues of oratory there are an equal number of kindred defects, which fallaciouſly aſſume their dreſs and appearance. Thus often the tumid and the pompous paſs for the "copious," the mean and the empty for the "graceful," the doubtful and the ambiguous for the "middle." M. Varro ſays, that in the Latin tongue there are three true and pertinent examples of theſe forms; namely, Pacuvius of the copious, Lucilius of the graceful, Terence of the middle[2]. But theſe three modes

Unerring nature, ſtill divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and univerſal light,
Life, force, and beauty muſt to all impart,
At once the ſource, and end, and teſt of art.

[2] *Terence of the middle.*]—The Fragments of Pacuvius are found firſt in H. Stephens Fragmenta Poetarum, afterwards in Mattaire's Corpus Poetarum. From theſe fragments we cannot eaſily be inclined to aſſent to the judgment here paſſed on Pacuvius by Gellius; for indeed they ſeem to poſſeſs neither elegance nor purity. But we are certainly not qualified to judge; and when we conſider what Quintilian ſays, in addition to the opinion of Gellius, we may with the leſs reluctance admit it to be true. "Tragœdiæ ſcriptores (I am quoting Quintilian) Accius atque Pacuvius clariſſimi, gravitate ſententiarum, verborum pondere, et auctoritate perſonarum;" than which an higher character cannot well be given.

Of

modes of ſpeaking are more anciently ſpecified by Homer in three diſtinct perſonages: Ulyſſes[3] was magnificent and copious, Menelaus acute and conciſe, Neſtor mixed and moderate. This threefold variety was alſo obſervable in three philoſophers whom the Athenians ſent on an embaſſy to Rome and the Senate, to remit the fine impoſed upon them on account of the plundering Oropus. This fine was almoſt five hundred talents. Theſe philoſophers were, Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic; and being admitted into the Se-

Of Lucilius, Quintilian remarks, that there are ſome who prefer him to all other writers: "Non ejuſdem modo operis auctoribus ſed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent." Horace, on the contrary, does not ſpeak in terms of high reſpect of Lucilius; Horace thinks his ſtyle heavy and dull. But Quintilian, giving his own opinion, ſpeaks of him in theſe terms: "Eruditio in eo mira et libertas, atque inde acerbitas et abunde ſalis." Terence is too well known to require my ſuffrage in his favour; his great charm is ſimplicity, his great defect want of point and energy.

[3] *Ulyſſes, &c.*]—The different excellence of ſpeaking, as poſſeſſed by theſe three eminent characters of antiquity, is thus deſcribed by Auſonius:

Priſcos ut et heroes olim
Carmine Homeri commemoratos,
Fando referres;
Dulcem in paucis ut Pliſthenidem
Et torrentis ceu Dulichii
Ning ida dicta;
Et mellitæ nectare vocis
Dulcia fatu verba canentem,
Neſtora regem.

nate, they employed C. Acilius, a ſenator, as their interpreter. But previouſly each of theſe, by way of diſplaying his abilities, had harangued in a numerous aſſembly. Then it is ſaid that Rutilius and Polybius greatly admired the eloquence which was peculiar to each philoſopher. They affirm that the oratory of Carneades was ſtrong and rapid, that of Critolaus learned and poliſhed, of Diogenes modeſt and temperate. But each of theſe forms, as I have before obſerved, when its ornaments are chaſte and modeſt, is excellent, when daubed and painted it is contemptible.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The ſeverity with which thieves were puniſhed by the ancients.—What Mutius Scævola has written on what is given or entruſted to the care of any one[1].

LABEO, in his ſecond book on the Twelve Tables, has ſaid, that among the ancients ſevere and extreme puniſhments were inflicted upon

[1] The penal laws of the Romans ſeem in many reſpects to have been borrowed of the Athenians, particularly in what related to theft. He who was taken in the act of theft during the night was puniſhed with death. In the day-time alſo, if he had a weapon and preſumed to defend himſelf, a thief was liable to the ſame penalty.

The right of the original proprietor to what had been ſtolen from him did not ceaſe till after a period of thirty years, although in this interval the property ſhould have paſſed through the hands of various maſters.

To this Labeo, Gellius has been more than once indebted. See Book xx. chap. 1.

According to the Moſaic law, he who removed his neighbour's land-mark was accounted accurſed; but we are not told whether it was diſtinguiſhed between him who committed this crime from motives of wantonneſs and malice, and the man who had intentions of committing theft. It will not here be forgotten, that by the laws of Lycurgus theft was permitted, with the idea that encouraging boldneſs and dexterity was of greater ſervice to the ſtate than the purloining a few

on thieves; and that Brutus uſed to ſay that he was condemned as guilty of theft who led cattle aſtray from the place where he was ſent, or who had kept it longer than the diſtance of his errand required. Q. Scævola, therefore, in his ſixteeenth book on the Civil Law, has theſe words: "Whoever applied to his own uſe that which was entruſted to his care, or, receiving any thing for a particular purpoſe, applied it to a different one, was liable to the charge of theft."

a few trifles could be of detriment to individuals. In this, as in all other vices, there are doubtleſs gradations of guilt; and it may be ſaid properly with Horace,

Nec vincet ratio hæc, tantundem ut peccat idemque
Qui teneros cautes alieni fregerit horti,
Et qui nocturnos divum ſacra legerit.

Or, in fewer words, ſtealing a cabbage is not ſurely ſo great a crime as ſacrilege.

CHAP. XVI.

Paſſage from Marcus Varro's ſatire, called περι εδεσματων. *Some verſes of Euripides, in which he ridicules the extravagant appetite of luxurious men.*

VARRO, in the ſatire which he wrote concerning things to be eaten, deſcribes in ſome verſes, written with much facetiouſneſs and ſkill, the exquiſite delicacies of food and entertainments [1]. He has produced and deſcribed in hexameters moſt of theſe things which theſe gluttons

[1] The luxury of entertainments among the ancients is moſt ſucceſsfully ridiculed by Horace, in the ſecond ſatire of the ſecond book, which has been moſt ably paraphraſed by Pope. Some of the beſt lines are theſe which follow; which do not ſeem in this place impertinent:

Now hear what bleſſings temperance can bring—
Thus ſaid our friend, and what he ſaid I ſing—
Firſt health; the ſtomach cramm'd from every diſh,
A tomb of boil'd and roaſt, and fleſh and fiſh,
Where bile, and wind, and phlegm, and acid jar,
And all the man is one inteſtine war;
Remembers oft the ſchool-boy's ſimple fare,
The temperate ſleeps, and ſpirits light as air.

Which two laſt lines it is not improbable but Gray might have in his mind when, deſcribing a ſchool-boy, he ſays,

The ſpirits pure, the ſlumbers light,
Which fly th' approach of morn.

Much

tons hunt for both by ſea and land. The verſes to which I allude, whoever has leiſure may find in the above-mentioned book. As well as I can remember, the kinds and names of eatables, and the places where theſe dainties, ſuperior to all others, are found, which an inordinate gluttony has hunted out, and which Varro has in his ſatire reprobated, are theſe which follow:

A peacock from Samos [2], a woodcock [3] from

Much alſo, which relates to the luxury and extravagance diſplayed by the ancients in feaſts, may be gathered from Athenæus.

[2] *Peacock from Samos.*]—The peacock was eſteemed a great delicacy by the Romans. Horace thus ridicules it:

Vix tamen eripiam poſito pavone velis, quin
Hoc potius quam gallina, tergere palatum
Corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
Rara avis et picta pandat ſpectacula cauda.

Which Pope thus imitates:

I doubt our curious men
Will chooſe *a pheaſant* ſtill before a hen;
Yet hens of Guinea full as good I hold,
Except you eat the feathers green and gold.

A great deal is ſaid concerning the peacock, and the eſtimation in which it was anciently held, in the fourteenth book of Athenæus. The peacock was ſacred to Juno, and ſaid to have been firſt produced in Samos, in the temple of that goddeſs, and thence propagated through the world.

[3] *Woodcock.*]—This was another delicate article of food, as with us, and is highly commmended in Horace, Martial, and Athenæus. In this latter author, a fragment of Hipponax forbids the eating either of woodcock or hare.

Phrygia,

Phrygia, cranes[4] from Melos, a kid[5] from Ambracia, a tunny[6] from Chalcedon, a lamprey from Tarteſſus, codfiſh from Peſſinus, oyſters from Tarentum, cockles from Chios, and elops[7]

[4] *Cranes.*]—Theſe are alſo mentioned among the delicacies of the table by Horace and Pliny.

[5] *Kid.*]—The following paſſage from Athenæus requires a place here: "Many of the gueſts extolled in very high terms the lampreys and eels of Sicily, the bellies of dolphins taken near Cape Pachinus, *the kids of the iſle of Melos*, the mullets of Simothus; and, among other leſs important delicacies, oyſters from Cape Pelorus, pilchards from Liparos, creſſes from Thebes, and beet from Aſina."

Melos is now called Milo, or, according to Savary, Mile; it is deſcribed at great length by Tournefort, who alſo mentions the excellence of its kids:

"All the productions of the iſland are of incomparable excellence. Its partridges, quails, *kids*, and lambs, are in high eſtimation, yet extremely cheap."

Ambracia is a town of Epirus.

[6] *Tunny.*]—This was a younger fiſh of the tunny kind. See Pliny: "Limoſæ a luto pelamides incipiunt vocari, et cum annum exceſſere tempus, thynni."

See alſo Athenæus.

When it firſt begins to encreaſe in ſize the pelamys is called thynnus, in its next ſtate orcynus, in its largeſt it is a whale.

[7] *Elops.*—I am by no means able to diſcover what fiſh is here meant; it is nevertheleſs mentioned by various Latin writers. It is I believe ſometimes called acipenſer, which has been called in Engliſh a ſturgeon. See the Halieuticon of Ovid:

Et pretioſus helops noſtris incognitus undis.

In a fragment of Lucilius it is alſo called præclarus elops.

from

from Rhodes, char[8] from Cilicia, nuts from Thaſus[9], palm from Ægypt[10], acorns of Hiberia[11]. But

[8] *Char.*]—This was a great favourite with the Roman epicures; and it is related of Auguſtus, that as this fiſh was not found in the Italian ſeas, he imported a great many from the coaſts of Aſia Minor, giving orders that whoever, for three years, ſhould preſume to fiſh for them ſhould be drowned.

Conſult, on the ſubject of the fiſhes of the ancients, the ſeventh book of Athenæus, where, among other things, we are told, on the authority of Seleucus of Tarſus, that the ſcarus is the only fiſh which never ſleeps: in Athenæus the ſcarus of Epheſus is recommended.

[9] *Nuts from Thaſus.*]—Much is ſaid in the ſecond book of Athenæus, on the ſubject of nuts, and the nuts of Perſia are particularly recommended. Nux is by itſelf a generic name, the ſpecies of which is aſcertained only by an epithet. It is not eaſy, therefore, to ſay whether any or what particular ſpecies is to be underſtood by the nuts of Thaſus, the Perſian nuts, &c. Nux by itſelf ſeems generally to mean a walnut-tree, for the nuts uſed at weddings, and thrown among children, are known to have been walnuts.

[10] *Palm from Ægypt.*]—In oppoſition to this, Strabo affirms, that the palms of Ægypt are mean and bad, except in the Thebaid alone. Galen ſays, that the fineſt palms are produced in Judæa, in the vale of Jericho. In the 24th chapter of Eccleſiaſticus, the palm of Engaddi and the roſe of Jericho are celebrated: "I was exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi, and as a roſe-plant in Jericho."

Upon this ſubject of the palm-tree I have written before at ſome length, in my notes to the tranſlation of Herodotus, Vol. I. and to this work I beg leave to refer the reader.

[11] *Acorns of Hiberia.*]—Glans ſeems to have been uſed among the Romans in the ſame ſenſe that we uſe maſt. Thus the fruit of the beech is called glans: "Fagi glans nuclei ſimilis,"

But we ſhall think this induſtry of the appetite, wandering about and ſearching for new and unaccuſtomed juices, and hunting them in every quarter of the earth, ſtill more deteſtable, if we have in mind the verſes of Euripides. Theſe verſes Chryſippus the philoſopher frequently applied, as if a certain irritable luſt of eating was to be obtained, not for the neceſſary uſes of life, but through the luxurioufneſs of a mind loathing what was to be eaſily got, from a certain wantonneſs of ſatiety. I ſubjoin the lines of Euripides [12]:

What can man need but theſe two things, the fruits
Which Ceres yields, and the refreſhing ſpring,
Ever

milis," ſays Pliny. But, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it means only ſuch fruits as contain only one ſeed, which is covered at the lower part with a huſk, and is naked at the upper part: thus the fruit of an oak, which we commonly call an acorn, is properly a glans. "Glandem," ſays Pliny, "quæ proprie intelligitur, ferunt robur, quercus, eſculus, cerrus, ilex ſuber."

Martyn.

The acorn then was doubtleſs the production of ſome ſpecies of oak; but it ſeems difficult to imagine in what manner it could poſſibly be prepared to gratify the palate of a Roman, in the luxurious times of that empire.

Iberia is mentioned by Horace as being fruitful in poiſons:

Herbaſque quas Iolcos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax.

[12] *Lines of Euripides.*]—This is a fragment of the Æolus of Euripides; and I have uſed the tranſlation of Wodhull.

Ever at hand, by bounteous nature given
To nouriſh us? We from the plenty riſe
Diſſatisfied, and yielding to the allurements
Of luxury, ſearch out for other viands.

Concerning the articles of food enumerated in this chapter, the following circumſtances may properly enough be added:

Apicius ſays, "Iſicia de pavo primum locum habent." The real meaning of iſicium it may not be eaſy to determine; from its etymology it probably means a kind of ſauſage.

The ſame Apicius deſcribes with what ſauce the attagena ſhould be dreſſed and eaten.

The grus was underſtood to be what an Engliſhman would term very hearty food, it was put upon the table with a great variety and multitude of ſauces, and was decorated, as is with us ſometimes cuſtomary to ſend up pheaſants. "Gruem," ſays Apicius, "lavas, ornas et includis in olla." Includere in olla, ſignifies to pot any thing.

See in Apicius, Book viii. chap. 6. various directions for dreſſing a kid or lamb.

The pelamys was alſo conſidered as ſtrong food, and required a long time and conſiderable pains to make it tender.

The murena was always eſteemed as one of the greateſt delicacies of the table: Columella ſays, "Jam celebres erant deliciæ popinales cum a mari deferrentur vivaria quorum ſtudioſiſſimi velut ante deviſtarum gentium Numantinus et Iſauricus: ita Sergius orata et Licinius murena captorum piſcium lætabantur vocabulis."

The fiſh aſellus, according to Varro, was ſo named from its reſemblance in colour to an aſs. The aſellus is probably what we call a haddock.

Athenæus relates, that when the emperor Trajan was carrying on war againſt the Parthians, and at a great diſtance from the ſea, he was delighted and ſurpriſed at receiving ſome freſh oyſters from Apicius.

CHAP. XVII.

Converſation with an ignorant and inſolent grammarian, on the meaning of the word obnoxius— *Origin of this word.*[1]

I ENQUIRED at Rome of a certain grammarian, of the firſt celebrity as a teacher, not indeed for the ſake of trying him, but really from a deſire of knowledge, what was the meaning of the word *obnoxius*, and what was the nature and origin of the word. He, looking at me, as if ridiculing the trifling inſignificance of the queſtion,—"You aſk," ſays he, "a very obſcure queſtion, and what requires great pains to inveſtigate. Who is ſo ignorant of the Latin tongue as not to know that he is called *obnoxius*, who in any reſpect can be incommoded and injured by him to whom he is ſaid to be *obnoxius*, and has any one conſcious *ſuæ noxæ*, that is of his fault? But rather," he continued, "put aſide theſe trifles, and introduce ſomewhat worthy of inveſtigation and argument." On this, I, being moved, thought

[1] It is obvious that the word *obnoxius* is uſed by the beſt Latin writers in a variety of ſenſes; and it muſt be acknowledged, as Quintus Carolus obſerves, that Gellius in this chapter has not thrown much more light upon the ſubject than the grammarian whom he points out to ridicule.

that

that I ought to diſſemble, as with a fooliſh fellow—" With reſpect to other things, moſt learned Sir, which are more abſtruſe and profound, if I ſhall want to learn and know them, when occaſion ſhall require, I ſhall doubtleſs come to you for inſtruction; but as I have often uſed the word *obnoxius*, and knew not its proper meaning, I have enquired and learned from you, what indeed not only I, as it ſeems to you, did not comprehend, but it ſhould ſeem that Plautus alſo, a man of the firſt eminence for his knowledge of verbal nicety and elegance in the Latin tongue, did not know what *obnoxius* meant. There is a verſe in his Stichus [a], of this kind:

Nunc ego hercle perii plane, *non obnoxie*;

which by no means accords with the interpretation you have given me; for Plautus has brought together, as oppoſite to one another, the two words *plane* and *obnoxie*, which is very remote from your explanation." But this grammarian fooliſhly enough, and as if *obnoxius* and *obnoxie* differed, not only in declenſion but in effect and meaning, "I," ſaid he, "obſerved, what *obnoxius* was, and not *obnoxie*." Then I, aſtoniſhed at the

[a] *Stichus.*]—A comedy called Stichus.

The tranſlators of Plautus have not noticed the contraſt betwixt *plane* and *obnoxie* in this quotation, but have rendered it—"I am a dead man, plain, out of doubt." The meaning of *obnoxie*, according to the commentators on this paſſage, is, I am a dead man, and my fate is not ſubject to any one's will.

ignorance of this conceited man, replied, "We will paſs over then, if you pleaſe, that Plautus has uſed the word *obnoxie*, if you think this foreign from the purpoſe. We will alſo not mention what Salluſt has ſaid in his Catiline, Minari etiam ferro, ni ſibi *obnoxia* foret, but you ſhall explain to me what is more common and familiar. Theſe verſes from Virgil are very well known:

Nam neque tunc[3] aſtris acies obtuſa videri
Nec fratris radiis *obnoxia* ſurgere luna.

Which you ſay is *conſcium ſuæ culpæ*. Virgil alſo, in another place, uſes this word very differently from your opinion, thus—

Juvat arva videre[4]
Non raſtris hominum, non ulli *obnoxia* curæ.

For care is generally beneficial to fields and not injurious, which is your explanation of *obnoxius*.

[3] *Nam neque tunc, &c.*]—Thus rendered by Martyn: "For then the light of the ſtars does not ſeem dim, nor does the moon ſeem to riſe as if indebted to her brother's beams."

And thus by Dryden—

The ſtars ſhine *ſmarter*, and the moon adorns,
As with unborrow'd beams, her ſharpen'd horns.

[4] *Juvat arva, &c.*]—Thus rendered by Martyn—"It is delightful to ſee fields that are not obliged to harrows, or any care of man."

Thus by Dryden—

But much more pleaſing are theſe fields to ſee,
That need not ploughs nor human induſtry.

How

How too can that which Ennius has written in his Phænice agree with what you ſay:

Sed virum [5] vera virtute vivere animatum addecet,
Fortiterque *innoxium* vacare adverſum adverſarios;
Ea liberta' eſt, qui pectus purum et firmum geſtitat,
Aliæ res obnoxioſæ nocte in obſcura latent."

But he, heſitating, and like one perplexed, replies, "I have not time now, when I have, you ſhall come and ſee me again, and ſhall know what Virgil, Salluſt, Plautus, and Ennius meant by this word;" ſaying this, the ſtupid fellow departed. If any one ſhall chooſe to examine, not only the origin of the word, but alſo its meaning and variety, let him refer to this paſſage, which I tranſcribe from the Aſinaria of Plautus:

Maxumas [6] opimitates gaudio effertiſſimas

[5] *Sed virum.*]—Theſe lines may perhaps be thus tranſlated It becomes a man of ſpirit to live with real courage, and an innocent man to bear up boldly againſt his adverſaries. He who has an upright and courageous heart has this liberty, other viler things are concealed in darkneſs.

[6] *Maxumas.*]—Thus rendered by the tranſlators of Plautus—

Plenty of good things he and I ſhall heap
Upon his maſters, both the ſon and father,
Who for this kindneſs ever will remain
Bound to us in the ſtricteſt bands.

Suis heris ille una mecum pariet gnatoque et patri,
Adeo ut ætatem ambo ambobus nobis ſint *obnoxii*
Noſtro devincti beneficio.

With reſpect to the definition which this grammarian gave, this, in a word of ſuch various application, ſeems to have marked one uſe of it only; which agrees indeed with the ſignification given it by Cæcilius in his Chryſius. This is the paſſage:

Quamquam ego [7] mercede huc conductus tua
Advenio, ne tibi me eſſe ob eam rem *obnoxium*
Reare: audibis male ſi male dixis mihi.

[7] *Quamquam ego.*]—"Although I came here expecting to be paid by you, you muſt not on that account think that I am wholly ſubject to you. If you ſpeak ill of me, you will be ill ſpoken of in return."

The word *obnoxious* alſo, in Engliſh, is uſed in different ſenſes. We call any one offending *obnoxious*, both as he is unworthy in himſelf, and ſubject to puniſhment.

CHAP. XVIII.[1]

Religious obſervance of an oath among the Romans—Of the ten captives whom Hannibal ſent to Rome, taking from them an oath to return.

THAT an oath was held to be ſacred and inviolable among the Romans, appears from their manners, and from many laws; and what I am going to relate is alſo no ſmall proof of it. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, ſent ten priſoners, ſelected from our countrymen, to Rome, and commanded and agreed with them, that if the Roman people ap-

[1] On the ſubject of this chapter ſee Gellius again, Book xx. chap. i.

Mr. Gibbon, ſpeaking of the integrity of the ancient Romans, thus expreſſes himſelf:

"The goddeſs of faith *(of human and ſocial faith)* was worſhipped not only in her temples but in the lives of the Romans; and if that nation was deficient in the more amiable qualities of benevolence and generoſity, they aſtoniſhed the Greeks by their ſincere and ſimple performance of the moſt burthenſome engagements."—The ſtory of Regulus will here preſent itſelf to the reader; and many examples of the ſtrict adherence of the Romans to their engagements, may be found in Valerius Maximus, Book vi. The form of the ſolemn oath among the Romans I have given in Vol. I. p. 80. With reſpect to the evaſion here recorded, there can be but one opinion—it is an example of meanneſs and perfidy.

proved

proved it, there ſhould be an exchange of priſoners, and that for thoſe, which either ſhould happen to have more than the other, a pound of ſilver ſhould be paid. Before they went, he compelled them to take an oath to return to the Carthaginian camp, if the Romans would not exchange priſoners. The ten captives came to Rome; they explained in the ſenate the meſſage of the Carthaginian commander. The exchange was not agreeable. The parents, relations, and friends of the captives embraced them; aſſured them they were now effectually reſtored to their country, that their ſituation was independent and ſecure, and entreated them by no means to think of returning to the enemy. Then eight of them replied, that this reſtoration to their country was by no means juſt, ſince they were bound by an oath to return; and immediately, according to this oath, they went back to Hannibal. The other two remained in Rome, aſſerting that they were free, and delivered from the obligation of their oath, ſince, when they had left the enemy's camp, they had, with a deceitful intention, returned on the ſame day, as if on ſome accidental occaſion, and ſo, having ſatisfied their oath, they departed free from its obligation. But this their fraudulent evaſion was deemed ſo baſe, that they were deſpiſed and reproached by the common people, and the cenſors afterwards branded them with diſgraceful marks of every kind, ſince they had not done that, which they had ſworn to do.

do. Cornelius Nepos, in his fifth book of Examples, has alſo recorded that many of the ſenate were of opinion, that they who refuſed to return ſhould be taken into cuſtody and ſent back to Hannibal; but this opinion was ſet aſide, as not agreeable to the majority. But thoſe men who did not return to Hannibal became ſo very odious and infamous, that, being wearied of life, they deſtroyed themſelves.

CHAP. XIX.

Hiſtory taken from the Annals concerning Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the Gracchi, tribune of the people; with the form of words uſed by the tribunes in their decrees.

THERE is recorded a noble, generous and magnanimous action of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. It is as follows: Caius Minucius Augurinus, a tribune of the people, impoſed a fine upon L. Scipio Aſiaticus, brother of P. Scipio Africanus the elder; and on this account called upon him to produce his ſecurities. Scipio Africanus, in the name of his brother, appealed to the college of tribunes, entreating them to defend a man of conſular rank, who had triumphed, from the violence of their colleague. Eight of the tribunes, after inveſtigating the matter, made a decree, the words of which I have added, as they appear written in the monuments of the Annals:

QUOD. P. SCIPIO. AFRICANUS[1]. POSTULAVIT, PRO. L. SCIPIONE. ASIATICO. FRATRE. QUUM. CONTRA.

[1] *Quod P. Scipio Africanus.*]—I thus tranſlate the decree—Publius Scipio Africanus, in the name of his brother Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus, has repreſented, that the tribune of the people, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of our anceſtors,

CONTRA . LEGES . CONTRA . Q. MOREM . MAJORUM . TRIBUNUS . PLEBEI . HOMINIBUS . ACCITIS . PER . VIM . INAUSPICATO . SENTENTIAM . DE . EO . TULERIT . MULTAM . Q. NULLO . EXEMPLO . IRROGARIT . PRÆDES . Q. OB . EAM . REM . DARE . COGAT . AUT . SI . NON . DET . IN . VINCULA . DUCI . JUBEAT . UT . EUM . A . COLLEGÆ . VI . PROHIBEAMUS . ET . QUOD . CONTRA . COLLEGA . POSTULAVIT . NE . SIBI . INTERCEDAMUS . QUO . MINUS . SUAPTE . POTESTATE . UTI . LICEAT . DE . EA . RE . NOSTRUM . SENTEN-

anceſtors, having by undue means collected a multitude together, has impoſed a fine upon him, for which there exiſts no precedent. He has exacted ſecurities from him; on his refuſal to produce which, he has commanded that he ſhould be impriſoned. He has entreated our protection from the violence of our colleague; who, on the contrary, has entreated that we ſhould not interfere with his exerciſe of his juſt authority.

The opinion given on this ſubject in common by us all, is this—If Lucius Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus will give to our colleague the ſecurities required, we will intercede to prevent his being committed to priſon.—If he ſhall refuſe to give the ſecurities required, we will by no means obſtruct our colleague in the exerciſe of his authority."

The ſame fact is related in Livy, Book xxxviii. c. 60. and every thing which the Roman law involves, illuſtrative of the queſtion here diſcuſſed, is to be ſeen in Heineccius, p. 677, 678, and 679.

The ſtory of Scipio was this—He was reported to have been bribed by Antiochus to grant him favourable terms of peace at the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. He was called upon by the tribune to account for this, or ſubmit to ſuch penalties as his official authority enabled him to impoſe.

TIA .

TIA . OMNIUM . DATA . EST . SI . L. CORNELIUS . SCIPIO . ASIATICUS . COLLEGÆ . ARBITRATU . PRÆDES . DABIT . COLLEGÆ . NE . ÆUM . IN . VINCULA . DUCAT . INTERCEDEMUS . SI . EJUS . ARBITRATU . PRÆDES . NON . DABIT . QUO . MINUS . COLLEGA . SUA . POTESTATE . UTATUR . NON . INTERCEDEMUS.

After this decree, when Augurinus, the tribune of the people, commanded L. Scipio, not giving ſecurities, to be ſeized and led to priſon, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, and father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, who, from various diſputes reſpecting the commonwealth, was a violent enemy to P. Scipio Africanus, publicly avowed that no reconciliation had taken place betwixt him and P. Africanus. He then thus recited a decree from his tablet. The words of which were theſe:

CUM . L. CORNELIUS . SCIPIO .[2] ASIATICUS . TRIUMPHANS . HOSTIUM . DUCES . IN . CARCEREM . CONJECTAVERIT .

[2] *Cum Lucius C. Scipio.*—In Engliſh thus: "Lucius Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus having obtained the honour of a triumph, and thrown the leaders of the enemy into priſon, it ſeemed inconſiſtent with the dignity of the republic to commit a general of the Roman people to that place where the leaders of the enemies had been by him confined. Therefore I uſe my interpoſition to ſave Lucius Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus from the violence of my colleague."

The interpoſition of Gracchus availed but only for the preſent moment. The invidious buſineſs was afterwards reſumed; and though it appeared that all the effects and property

CONJECTAVERIT . ALIENUM . VIDETUR . ESSE . DIGNITATE . REIPUBLICÆ . IN . EUM . LOCUM . IMPERATOREM . POPULI . ROMANI . DUCI . IN . QUEM . LOCUM . AB . EO . CONJECTI . SUNT . DUCES . HOSTIUM . ITA . Q. L. CORNELIUM . SCIPIONEM . ASIATICUM . A . COLLEGÆ . VI . PROHIBEO.

But Valerius Antias, contrary to this record of the decrees, and againſt the authority of the Ancient Annals, has affirmed, that this interceſſion made by Tiberius Gracchus in favour of Scipio Aſiaticus, was after the death of Scipio Africanus: He adds, that no fine was impoſed upon Scipio; but that, being condemned for peculation with reſpect to the money of Antiochus, on his not giving ſecurity, he was ordered to be ſent to priſon, from which he was delivered by the interceſſion of Gracchus.

perty of Scipio were not of ſufficient value to ſatisfy the fine which had been impoſed, yet every thing he had was ſold. A ſtriking proof how tranſient is the gale of public favour, though obtained, as in the caſe before us, by real and important ſervices.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

That Virgil, becauſe he was refuſed water by the inhabitants of Nola, eraſed the word "Nola" from his verſe, and inſerted "Ora;" with other pleaſant obſervations on the harmonious ſound of letters.

I HAVE found in ſome commentaries, that theſe verſes were originally recited and edited by Virgil thus,

> Talem[1] dives arat Capua et vicina Veſevo
> Nola jugo.

Afterwards Virgil requeſted of the people of Nola permiſſion to introduce water into his neighbouring farm. The Nolani would not grant the favour which was aſked; the poet being offended, eraſed the name of their city from his poem, as if it were the ſame as eraſing it from the memory of man. He changed Nola into Ora, and ſo left it.

> ——et vicina Veſevo
> Ora jugo.

[1] *Talem.*]—Such a ſoil is ploughed about rich Capua, and the country of Nola, which lies near mount Veſuvius.

This probably is like many other old ſtories, for it is very evident that Gellius gives it no great degree of credit.

I am

I am at no pains to prove whether this be true or falſe; but it certainly cannot be doubted, but that Ora is more agreeable, and more harmonious to the ear than Nola. For the ſame vowel ending the ſyllable of the former verſe, and beginning the verſe which follows, together form a combination of ſound, which is at the ſame time full and harmonious. Many examples of this kind of harmony may be found in the beſt poets, which appear to be the effect not of accident but art; but they occur far more frequently in Homer than in any other. In one paſſage, theſe as it were disjointed ſounds he brings together in many words:

Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θρεῖ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ
Ἣ χιόνι ψυχρῇ ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυσταλλῳ.

Thus alſo in another place—

Λᾶαν ἄνω ὠθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον.

Catullus in like manner, the moſt elegant of poets, ſays,

Miniſter [a] vetuli puer Falerni
Inger, mi calices amariores,

Ut

[a] *Miniſter, &c.*]—The lines from Catullus I inſert at length.

Miniſter vetuli puer Falerni
Inger, mi calices amariores,
Ut lex Poſtumiæ jubet magiſtræ,
Ebrioſa acina ebrioſioris;
At vos quo lubet hinc abite lymphæ,
Vini pernicies, et ad ſeveros
Migrate: hic merus eſt Thyonianus.

Ut lex Poſtumiæ jubet magiſtræ,
Ebrioſa acina ebrioſioris.

When he might have ſaid both *ebrioſus*, and, what is more common, have uſed *acinum* in the neuter gender. But being partial to this harmony of the Homeric disjunction, he uſed *ebrioſa*, from the ſimilar agreement of the vowel immediately following. They who think that Catullus wrote *ebrios*, or *ebrioſos*, for this latter abſurd reading has alſo appeared, have met with books doubtleſs compoſed from very corrupt copies.

Thus imperfectly attempted in Engliſh—

Boy, who the roſy bowl doſt paſs,
Fill up to me the largeſt glaſs,
The largeſt glaſs, and oldeſt wine,
The laws of drinking give as mine;
Still muſt my ever-thirſty lip
From large and flowing bumpers ſip.
Ye limpid ſtreams, where'er ye flow,
Far hence to water-drinkers go,
Go to the dull and the ſedate,
And fly the god whoſe bowers you hate.

CHAP. XXI.

Why quoad vivet *and* quoad morietur *expreſs the ſame point of time, though the expreſſion is taken from two contrary facts* [1].

WHEN the terms *quoad vivet* and *quoad morietur* are uſed, they appear to be expreſſive of two contrary things, but both terms indicate one and the ſame point of time. In like manner when it is ſaid *quoad ſenatus habebitur*, and *quoad ſenatus dimittetur*, although the words *haberi* and *dimitti* are oppoſite, yet one and the ſame thing is expreſſed by both. For when two periods of time are oppoſite to each other, and yet ſo approximate that the termination of the one is confounded with the beginning of the other, it is of no conſequence whether the confine be demonſtrated by the extremity of the former, or the beginning of the latter.

[1] The ſame mode of expreſſion prevails in our own and probably in all other languages. "Whilſt I live and till I die," though the mode of expreſſion is taken from the two contraries of life and death, communicate the ſame idea.

CHAP. XXII.

That the cenſors[1] were accuſtomed to take away their horſes from ſuch knights as were too fat and corpulent.—Enquiry made whether this is done with diſgrace of the knights, or without any diminution of their dignity.

THE cenſors were accuſtomed to take away the horſe from a man too fat and corpulent, thinking ſuch ill calculated to perform the duty of a knight, with the weight of ſo large a body. But this was no puniſhment, as ſome ſuppoſe, but they were ſuſpended without ignominy from their duty: yet Cato, in the oration which he wrote, De ſacrificio commiſſo, alledges this matter in the form of an accuſation, ſo as to make it appear to have been ignominious. If

[1] The power of the cenſors has been ſpoken of in various places. And this ſeems very properly to have been exerciſed on the equites or knights, whoſe duty it was to ſerve on horſeback; yet the term of eques or knight was not given indiſcriminately to all thoſe who ſerved on horſeback. The cenſor choſe a certain number into the equeſtrian order; he gave them, when he did this, a gold ring and a horſe, which was paid for by the public. He conſequently was juſtified in reprobating the miſuſe or neglect of that, which was in fact the public property.

you take it thus, it may be preſumed that he did not appear entirely blameleſs, or free from indolence, whoſe body had luxuriouſly ſwelled to ſo inordinate a ſize [a].

[a] An old Latin epigram mentions, among the qualities of a good man, a diligent care not to become too fat.

Juſto trutinæ ſe examine pendit
Ne quid hiet, ne quid protuberet, angulus æquis
Partibus ut coeat, nil ut deliret amuſſis, &c.

See Burman's Latin Anthology, vol. ii. 417.

BOOK VIII.[1]

CHAP. I.

Whether the phraſe heſterna noctu[2] *is proper or not.—What is the grammatical tradition concerning theſe words.—The decemviri*[3]*, in the Twelve Tables, uſed* nox *for* noctu.

CHAP.

[1] We have in this book one of thoſe lamentable chaſms which modern ingenuity cannot ſupply. It ſeems ſingular enough, that the heads of the chapters only ſhould remain to us; but theſe are of ſufficient importance to make us ſincerely regret the loſs we have ſuſtained in the original chapters to which they belong.

It is reaſonable to preſume, that many peculiarities of the Latin tongue were here explained by Gellius, many beauties pointed out, and many circumſtances of the private and domeſtic manners of the Romans familiarly and agreeably diſcuſſed.

[2] *Heſterna noctu.*]—See Macrobius, L. i. Saturnal. c. 4. This author, who was accuſtomed to borrow, without much ceremony of acknowledgment, from Gellius, may perhaps, in ſome degree, ſupply the loſs of this chapter.

[3] *Decemviri.*]—See Macrobius, in the place before quoted: "Decemviri in Duodecim Tabulis inuſitate nox pro noctu dixerunt.

dixerunt. Verba hæc ſunt: SEI, NOX FURTIM FACTUM ESIT SEI IM ACCISIT IOURE CAISUS ESTO. The meaning of which decree is, if an act of theft be committed in the night, and the thief be killed, he is lawfully killed. Here *nax* is evidently uſed for *noctu*. Theft by the Moſaic law was puniſhed by a fine; and it was not till ſome conſiderable degree of refinement prevailed in ſociety, that the crime of theft was puniſhed by death. Some admirable remarks upon the puniſhment which ought to be inflicted for theft, are to be found in the Marquis Beccaria; Blackſtone alſo has ſome excellent obſervations on this ſubject, from which it may be concluded that he was no friend to extreme and ſanguinary puniſhments.

Mr. Gibbon, with great juſtice, reprobates the ſeverity of the Twelve Tables:

"The Twelve Tables afford a more deciſive proof of the national ſpirit, ſince they were framed by the wiſeſt of the ſenate, and accepted by the free voice of the people; yet theſe laws, like the ſtatutes of Draco, are written in characters of blood."

The French, after their revolution, profeſſed to enact a penal code that was to give a great example to mankind of mildneſs and philanthropy. But ſuch is the verſatile character of that people, that on the firſt ſolemn occaſion which preſented itſelf, they violated their own principles by the unexampled and unprovoked barbarity, with which they treated their unhappy ſovereign.

CHAP. II.[1]

Ten words pointed out to me by Favorinus, which, though uſed by the Greeks, are ſpurious and barbarous—Ten likewiſe which I pointed out to him of common and popular uſe among the Latins, but which are not properly Latin, nor to be found in old books.

[1] The loſs of this chapter is ſeriouſly to be regretted. In every language new words are continually introduced, which, rejected at firſt by the learned as vicious or inelegant, become finally ſanctified by uſe, and in time perhaps are quoted as authority for the very language which they were at firſt imagined to debaſe.

CHAP. III.

The manner in which Peregrinus [1] the philoſopher, in my hearing, ſeverely rebuked a Roman youth of equeſtrian rank, for ſtanding in his preſence [2] in a careleſs manner, and yawning repeatedly.

CHAP.

[1] *Peregrinus.*]—This Peregrinus is ſpoken of at ſome length by Gellius in his 12th book. For a particular account of him ſee Lucian and Philoſtratus. He was born in the 236th Olympiad. He affected to imitate Hercules in his death, and threw himſelf into a funeral pile, in the preſence of innumerable ſpectators. His ſtatue, which was erected at Paros, a city of the Helleſpont, was reported to utter oracles: ſee Athenagoras. From the variety of characters he aſſumed, and parts he played, this man was ſurnamed Proteus. Although the inhabitants of Parium, where he was born, erected a ſtatue in his honour, it is notorious that he was driven into baniſhment for crimes at which humanity ſhudders. It is no leſs ſingular than true, that by his diſſimulation and hypocriſy, after profeſſing himſelf a chriſtian, he arrived at the higheſt eminence in the chriſtian church. Perhaps a more eccentric character never exiſted upon earth; but as the applauſe paid to acts of uncommon effrontery, cunning and boldneſs, is fleeting and tranſient, poſterity has paid a proper tribute to morality and virtue, by branding his memory with the infamy and abhorrence it ſo juſtly deſerves.

[2] *Standing in his preſence.*]—I have before had occaſion to ſpeak of the veneration which was paid by the ancients to thoſe, whoſe office or whoſe age commanded it. Gellius, in another place, relates an anecdote of a man who was fined by the cenſors for yawning in his preſence.

Gronovius

Gronovius imagines, that of this chapter he has reaſon to believe, that he has diſcovered a fragment in Nonius Marcellus, at the article *hallucinare*. The fragment is as follows:

"Et aſſiduo oſcitantem vidit atque illius quidem delicatiſſimas mentis et corporis hallucinationes."

The conjecture of Gronovius may probably be right.

CHAP. IV.[1]

Herodotus, the moſt celebrated hiſtorian, falſely aſſerts, that the pine-tree alone, of all trees, when cut down, never puts forth ſhoots from the ſame root.—The ſame perſon, concerning rain-water and ſnow, has aſſumed for granted, what has not been ſufficiently explored.

[1] The paſſage to which there is here an alluſion, is in the 37th chapter of the ſixth book of Herodotus.

The expreſſion of being deſtroyed as a pine became proverbial, and was applied to utter deſtruction without the poſſibility of recovery. What Herodotus ſays of the pine is true alſo of various other trees, which, as Bentley, in his Diſſertation on Phalaris, remarks, all periſh by lopping.

The other paſſage in Herodotus is, as Weſſeling conjectures, in his Diſſertatio Herodotea, in the 22d chapter of the 2d book. In this place the hiſtorian remarks, that it is a kind of law of nature, that it ſhould rain five days after a fall of ſnow.

The place in Herodotus is probably corrupt; and if this book of Gellius had remained entire, we ſhould perhaps have had a very difficult paſſage perfectly illuſtrated.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The meaning of cœlum ſtare pulvere *in Virgil, and how Lucilius has uſed* pectus ſentibus ſtare. [1]

[1] The paſſage from Virgil is this,

Et ſævus campis magis ac magis horror
Crebreſcit, propiuſque malum eſt, jam pulvere cœlum
Stare vident.

Dryden has not rendered the paſſage with ſufficient ſtrength:

Meantime the war approaches to the tents,
Th' alarm grows hotter, and the noiſe augments;
The driving duſt proclaims the danger near.

The driving duſt is by no means what Virgil intended to expreſs by cœlum ſtare pulvere. The air was in a manner rendered thick and immoveable by the condenſed duſt.

See Nonius Marcellus, at the article *ſtare*, where alſo it is not improbable but ſome fragment from this loſt chapter may have been introduced.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.[1]

When, after trifling diſputes, a reconciliation takes place, mutual expoſtulations can do no good.—Diſcourſe of Taurus on this ſubject, with a paſſage taken from the writings of Theophraſtus.—Cicero's opinion, de amore amicitiæ, *in his own words.*

[1] The aſſertion in the beginning of this article doubtleſs avows an excellent moral truth,

On the ſubject of this loſt chapter ſee Gellius, Book i. chap. 3. De amore amicitiæ, means concerning the love of friendſhip, that is, the particular ſpecies of love or affection which friendſhip excites.

CHAP. VII.

Obſervations on the nature and power of memory [1], *from the book of Ariſtotle entitled* περι μνημης.—*Certain examples therein read or heard of concerning its extraordinary ſtrength or deficiency.*

CHAP.

[1] The power of the memory preſents an inexhauſtible ſubject; and innumerable inſtances of the excellence of this faculty in ſome men would fill a volume. It is very happily defined by Cicero thus,—"Memoria certe non modo philoſophiam ſed omnis vitæ uſum, omneſque artes, una maxime continet."

The poſition of Montaigne is certainly very diſputable. He affirms that a ſtrong memory is commonly coupled with infirm judgment. The converſe of which ſtrange propoſition was ſingularly true, as it related to himſelf, who was remarkably deficient in this quality. He tells, in his Eſſays, that his ſtudy was in a remote corner of his houſe, and that if he wanted to conſult any book, or write any thing down, when he was ſitting in ſome other apartment, he was obliged to truſt the memory of others. He could never remember the names of his ſervants, and was inclined to believe, that if he lived to be old he ſhould forget his own name.

The moſt extraordinary example of the power of memory in this, or perhaps in any country, was the celebrated Jedediah Buxton. He was able, by his memory alone, to anſwer the moſt difficult arithmetical queſtions that could be propoſed; of which the following are a few ſpecimens:

He was aſked, in a field 351 yards long and 261 yards wide, how many acres there were. In eleven minutes he replied, 18 acres, 3 roods, 28 perches, and 14 remained.

A ſecond

A ſecond queſtion put to him was, Suppoſe ſound moves 1142 feet in one ſecond of time, how long after the firing of a cannon could the ſame be heard at the diſtance of five miles? In about a quarter of an hour he replied, 23 ſeconds, 7 thirds, and 46 remained.

A third queſtion was, If I ſet 3584 plants in rows four feet aſunder, and the plants ſeven feet apart in a rectangular piece of ground, how much land will the plants take up? In half an hour he ſaid, two acres, one rood, eight perches, and a half.

The following was the hardeſt queſtion ever propoſed to him:

What dimenſions muſt I give my joiner to make a cubical corn-bin, that ſhall hold juſt a quarter of malt, Wincheſter meaſure?

In an hour's time he replied, It would be a little more than $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches on a ſide, and that 26 inches would be too much. —All which anſwers are as true and correct as poſſible.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

That I have been accuſtomed to interpret, and have endeavoured to render faithfully in Latin, certain paſſages[1] from Plato.

[1] *Paſſages.*]—In the edition of Gronovius and many others, the original is *locos*, but it is ſometimes read *jocos*, which means *jeſts*. It may be obſerved, that in the earlier editions of Gellius, the reader will find nineteen books of Gellius, without the heads of the chapters of the eighth book, nor I do know when theſe heads were firſt diſcovered and printed.

CHAP. IX.

Theophraſtus, the moſt elegant philoſopher of his age, when about to addreſs a few words to the people of Athens, from an emotion of baſhfulneſs, became ſilent[1].—*The ſame thing happened to Demoſthenes, when ſpeaking to king Philip.*

CHAP.

The ſame amiable diffidence is related of ſome of the more celebrated characters of antiquity, and in particular of Marcus Craſſus and Cicero.

Demoſthenes was ſent with nine other ambaſſadors to Philip of Macedon, to treat with him concerning a peace; and I cannot do better than give the anecdote which is here alluded to, in the words of Dr. Leland, from his Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Philip.

Demoſthenes was the youngeſt, and conſequently the laſt to ſpeak. He now ſtood before a prince whom he was conſcious he had frequently ſpoken of, with the greateſt ſeverity, and who he knew was thoroughly informed of every thing ſaid or done at Athens. He was to contend with a complete maſter in his own art: and the reputation of the great Athenian orator, who was ever lancing the bolts of his eloquence againſt the king, muſt have raiſed a ſolemn attention in the court: even the ambaſſadors themſelves were curious to hear thoſe irreſiſtible remonſtrances which the orator is ſaid to have promiſed with the greateſt confidence, and which Philip and his courtiers were by this time warned to expect. All was ſuſpenſe and eager curioſity, and every man now waited in ſilence for ſome extraordinary inſtance of force and dignity in ſpeaking: but he who had ſo frequently braved all

all the tumult and oppoſition of an Athenian aſſembly, was in this new ſcene in an inſtant diſconcerted and confounded. He began in a manner utterly unworthy of his reputation, obſcure, ungraceful, and heſitating: his terror and embarraſſment ſtill encreaſed, and ſcarcely had he uttered a few broken and interrupted ſentences, when his powers totally failed him, and he ſtood before the aſſembly utterly unable to proceed. Philip ſaw his diſtreſs, and with all imaginable politeneſs endeavoured to relieve it. He told him, with that condeſcenſion and good-nature which he knew ſo well to affect, that at his court he need be under no apprehenſions: he was not now before an aſſembly of his countrymen, where he might expect ſome fatal conſequences if his hearers were not pleaſed: he begged he would take time to recollect himſelf, and purſue his intended diſcourſe. Demoſthenes attempted to proceed, but his confuſion ſtill continued: he appeared ſtill embarraſſed, and was ſoon obliged to be again ſilent.—The ambaſſadors were then ordered to withdraw.

CHAP. X.

A diſpute I had at Eleuſis[1] with a certain conceited grammarian, who was ignorant of the tenſes of verbs, and the common exerciſes of a ſchool-boy; but who oſtentatiouſly propoſed intricate queſtions, and bugbears to catch the minds of the vulgar.

[1] *Eleuſis.*]—This was a town of Attica, and dedicated, or rather conſecrated, to the Goddeſs Ceres. It is ſtill better known from the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries.

CHAP. XI.

The facetious reply of Socrates[1] to his wife Xantippe, requeſting him to be ſomewhat more liberal in giving an entertainment at the feaſt of Bacchus.

[1] I have ſomewhere ſeen an anecdote of Socrates and Xantippe, which may poſſibly be the ſame as was recorded in this chapter. Socrates had invited ſome men, who were known to be rich, to ſup with him, and Xantippe was offended with the mean and ſcanty preparation: "Never mind," ſaid Socrates, "if they are temperate they will by no means deſpiſe a frugal entertainment; if they ſhall be profligate and extravagant, they

they will be beneath our notice and eſteem. Some people," he continued, "live merely that they may eat, whilſt I eat only that I may live." This was ſaid to have happened at the feaſt of the Dionyſia, a feaſt celebrated in honour of Bacchus; at which time people were ſomewhat more profuſe in treating their friends.

CHAP. XII.

The meaning of the phraſe plerique [1] omnes *in the old books, and that theſe words ſeem borrowed from the Greeks.*

[1] Plerique, conſidered ſeparately by itſelf, may be underſtood to mean ferme omnes, or almoſt all; but when omnes is added to plerique, it ſeems to have the ſenſe of immo omnes: thus in Engliſh it may be interpreted, *almoſt all*, nay quite *all*.

CHAP. XIII.

The word quopſones [1], *which the Africans uſe, is a Greek and not a Carthaginian word.*

[1] Moſt of the older editions read this word Qupſones. Scaliger, in ſome manuſcript, found it written Eupſones, which he altered to Eudones, from the Punic word Haudoni, which means, Hail, maſter! and perhaps, therefore, continues Gronovius, the Africans uſed Eudones for Adonis. Notwithſtanding, therefore, what Gellius imagines, Eudones is probably a Syriac word. See the remainder of the note of Gronovius.

CHAP. XIV.

A very pleaſant diſpute of the philoſopher Favorinus, with a certain intemperate opponent, arguing on the ambiguity of words.—Certain words applied in an unuſual manner, from the poet Nævius, and from Cnæus Gellius [1].*—Origin of words inveſtigated by Publius Nigidius.*

[1] The older editions read Cneius Gallus; and Gronovius ſenſibly remarks, that in all probability it ought to be Cæcilius.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The manner in which the poet Laberius[1] was ignominiously treated by Caius Cæsar.—Verses by the same Laberius on this subject.

[1] This Laberius has been before mentioned, and the reader has been told to expect the verses of the prologue which Laberius spoke on the occasion, when he suffered the indignity to which allusion is here made. I insert the original, with the translation by a friend:

Necessitas, cujus cursus transversi impetum
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,
Quo me detrusit pœne extremis sensibus?
Quem nulla ambitio, nulla unquam largitio,
Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
Movere potuit in juventa de statu;
Ecce in senecta ut facile labefecit loco
Viri excellentis mente clemente edita
Submissa placide, blandiloquens oratio.
Etenim ipsi Di negare cui nihil potuerunt
Hominem me denegare quis posset pati?
Ergo bis tricenis annis actis sine nota,
Eques Romanus lare egressus meo
Domum revertar mimus; nimirum hoc die
Uno plus vixi mihi quam vivendum fuit,
Fortuna immoderata in bono æque atque in malo,
Si tibi erat libitum litterarum laudibus
Floris cacumen nostræ famæ frangere;
Cur cum vigebam membris præviridantibus,
Satis facere populo et tali cum poteram viro
Non flexibilem me concurvasti ut carperes

Nunc me quo dejicis? quid ad ſcenam affero
Decorem formæ, an dignitatem corporis,
Animi virtutem, an vocis jucundæ ſonum?
Ut hedera ſerpens vires arboreas necat,
Ita me vetuſtas, amplexu annorum, enecat.
Sepulcri ſimilis, nihil niſi nomen retineo.

In Engliſh.

Oh thou, the iſſue of whoſe tranſverſe courſe,
Neceſſity! the few alone can ſhun,
Low haſt thou laid me in the wane of life—
While nor ambition, nor the ſordid bribe,
Nor fear, nor force, nor ſway of ſovereign pow'r,
Could in my youth betray me from my ſtate;
Behold, in weak old age, how eaſily
The powerful eloquence of yon great man,
Mild and perſuaſive, ſteals me from my rank.
For could it be that I could e'er deny
His power, whom nought the Gods themſelves refuſe?
Forth from my houſe I came, a Roman knight,
That threeſcore years had paſs'd unſtain'd by crime,
And homeward I ſhall now return, a player.
I feel that I have liv'd one day too long.
Fortune, in each extreme of good or ill
Unable to preſerve a temp'rate ſway,
If with this ſcenic literary wreath
Thou would'ſt break down my yet unhonour'd brow,
Why, when the vigour and the ſtrength of youth
Could more have aided me to yield content
To Roman audiences, and this great man,
Didſt thou not bend my leſs unpliant ſtem?
Now whither doſt thou caſt me? To the ſtage!
What profit can I bring? that have nor ſhape
Nor dignity, nor ſpirit left, nor voice?
The creeping ivy claſps and kills the tree.
So falls Laberius in th' embrace of age,
And, like a tomb, bears but the name of man.

BOOK IX.[1]

CHAP. I.

The reaſon why Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, in the nineteenth Book of his Annals, has obſerved, that a mark was ſtruck with greater effect and certainty, when the projection was to take place upwards, than if it were downwards.

QUINTUS CLAUDIUS, in his nineteenth Book of Annals, deſcribing the ſiege of a town by Metellus the proconſul, and the

[1] The books of Gellius have at different periods been differently arranged. In ſome manuſcripts the book before us has been called the eighth book.

The aſſertion which is here made certainly comes in a very queſtionable ſhape, and is perhaps altogether untrue Perhaps the converſe may be the fact, and that they who project any thing from an eminence muſt do it with more force and greater certainty. The force of gravity acts conſtantly in oppoſition to any thing projected upwards, which if it does not render the hitting the mark more precarious, muſt certainly diminiſh the momentum or the aggregate of the velocity, and the quantity of matter of the thing projected.

the reſiſtance which was made by the citizens from the walls, has thus expreſſed himſelf:

" The archers and ſlingers, on both ſides, diſperſe their weapons with great ardour, and extraordinary courage. But there is this difference, whether you project an arrow or a ſtone upwards or downwards; neither can be projected downwards with certainty, but both of them with great effect upwards. Therefore the ſoldiers of Metellus were much leſs wounded, and, what was of

The ſlingers of the ancients were remarkably expert, and well they might, if what Vegetius relates be true, that they were accuſtomed to this exerciſe from their earlieſt infancy, and that mothers would not ſuffer their children to have their meals, unleſs they could hit ſuch objects as were pointed out to them. It was uſual to wind the ſling once round the head before they projected its contents; this was obviouſly to throw with greater force; but the poſition of a perſon in an inferior ſituation, who has to throw any thing at a mark above him from a ſling, ſeems very inconvenient for this motion.

Virgil, deſcribing Mezentius about to throw from a ſling, repreſents him as winding the ſling three times round his head;

Poſitis Mezentius haſtis,
Ipſe ter adducta circum caput egit habena,
Et media adverſi liquefacto tempora plumbo
Diffidit, ac multa porrectum extendit arena.

Thus rendered by Dryden—

The Thuſcan king
Laid by the lance, and took him to the ſling;

Thrice

of greater conſequence, eaſily defended themſelves from the battlements of the enemy."

I enquired of Antonius Julianus, the rhetorician, how this that Quadrigarius aſſerted came to paſs, that a blow was much more effectual and certain, if a ſtone or an arrow were hurled upwards than downwards, when the throwing of any thing from an eminence downwards was more natural and eaſy, than to throw from a lower ſituation upwards. Then Julianus, approving of my enquiry, replied—

"What is here ſaid of an arrow or a ſtone, is equally true of almoſt every miſſile weapon. It is certainly eaſier, as you obſerve, to throw any thing downwards, if your object be only to throw and not hit; but if the manner and force of the projection is to be moderated and directed,

> Thrice whirl'd the thong around his head, and threw
> The heated lead, half melted as it flew,
> It pierc'd his hollow temples and his brain,
> The youth came tumbling down, and ſpurn'd the plain.*

The uſe of arrows and ſlings in battle was ſuperſeded by the invention of gun-powder, and was diſcontinued almoſt immediately after that period.

* This circumſtance of the lead becoming warm from the ſwiftneſs of its rotatory motion, is mentioned frequently by the Latin poets. See Ovid.

> Non ſecus exarſit quam cum balearica plumbum
> Funda jacit, volat illud et incardeſcit eundo
> Et quos non habuit ſub nubibus invenit ignes.

then

then if you throw downwards, the force and preciſion of him who throws is interrupted both by his own precipitateneſs, and the weight of the weapon which is projected. But if you throw at any thing above, and the hand and eyes be prepared to hit an elevated object, the care that is taken will carry the weapon to the object at which it is aimed."

It was nearly in theſe terms that Julianus converſed with me on the words of Claudius; but what the ſame Claudius ſays, they eaſily defended themſelves from the enemy's battlement, it is to be obſerved, that he has uſed the word *defendebant*, not as it is generally applied, but with great propriety and pure Latinity. For the words *defendere* and *offendere* are oppoſite to each other; the one ſignifies *incurrere in aliquid*, to meet any thing, the other to repel, which is the thing intended by Q. Claudius in this paſſage.

CHAP. II.

The words in which Herodes Atticus reproved one who, with the dreſs and habit, falſely aſſumed the title and manner of a philoſopher.

IN my preſence, a certain man, with a long cloak[1] and hair, and with a beard reaching to his girdle, approached Herodes Atticus, a man of conſular rank, eminent for his amiable

[1] *Long cloak.*]—The affected auſterity of manner and mean dreſs which diſtinguiſhed the old philoſophers, was a ſubject which frequently exerciſed the talents of the comic writers of Greece and Rome. The man here mentioned was probably a Cynic, to which ſect the remark above more particularly applies. An entertaining deſcription of one of theſe philoſophers is found in Alciphron, and is to this effect:

"He ſaw one of thoſe people who, from their behaviour, are called Cynics, and, in imitation of him, ſoon exceeded the extravagance of his maſter. The appearance he makes is hideous and diſguſting; he ſhakes his uncombed locks, his look is ferocious; as to his dreſs, he goes half naked, having a little wallet hanging before him, and a ſtaff of wild olive in his hands. He wears no ſhoes, is very filthy, and totally unmanageable, &c." See alſo the Hermotimus of Lucian; and Alciphron, in another place, thus ſpeaks of Epicurus—"He is an unwholeſome, filthy wretch, wrapped up in cloth made of hair inſtead of wool." The character of Apemantus is well repreſented by Shakſpeare, in his play of Timon of Athens.

amiable diſpoſition, and his accompliſhments in Grecian eloquence, and requeſted money to be given him for bread. Herodes on this aſked him who he was? he, with an angry tone and frowning countenance, replied, he was a philoſopher; and expreſſed his ſurprize that he ſhould be aſked who he was, when his appearance declared it. "I perceive," returned Herodes, "the beard and the cloak, but I do not ſee the philoſopher; but I beſeech you to tell us with good-humour, by the uſe of what arguments we ſhould be able to know you to be a philoſopher." On this, ſome of thoſe who were preſent with Herodes affirmed, that this was a ſtrolling fellow, of no character, a frequenter of the meaneſt brothels; and that unleſs he got what he aſked, it was his cuſtom to be impudent and abuſive. "Let us," interrupted Herodes, "give this man ſomething, whoever he may be, conſidering our own characters, and not his;" and he ordered money enough to be given him to procure bread for thirty days. Then, looking upon us who were near him,

Athens. This perſonage, ſpeaking of the dreſs which Timon now wore, affecting to imitate him, ſays,

If thou didſt put this ſour cold habit on
To caſtigate thy pride, 'twere well.—

See alſo Horace. Ep. 2. B. 2. This poet, ſpeaking of the affected peculiarities of this race of men, mentions, among other things, their ſolemn ſilence—

Statua taciturnior exit
Plerumque et riſu populum quatit.

"Muſonius,"

"Muſonius," ſays he, "gave to a beggar of this kind, pretending to be a philoſopher, a thouſand ſeſterces; and when many people obſerved, that he was a profligate fellow, of the vileſt character, who deſerved nothing at all, they affirm that Muſonius replied with a ſmile, 'therefore he deſerves money[2].' But this it is," he continued, "which affects me with real grief and vexation, that theſe very vile and contemptible creatures uſurp a moſt venerable name[3], and are called philoſophers.

[2] *Deſerves money.*]—Meaning, without doubt, that money is in itſelf ſo contemptible a thing as to be beneath the attention of men of wiſdom, and followers of true philoſophy:

Thus much of gold will make black white, foul fair,
Wrong right, baſe noble, old young, coward valiant.
How, you gods, why this—what this, you gods—why this
Will lug your prieſts and ſervants from your ſides,
Pluck ſtout men's pillows from below their heads.
This yellow ſlave
Will knit and break religions, bleſs the accurſed,
Make the hoar leproſy ador'd, place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation
With ſenators on the bench; this is it
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again,
She whom the ſpital-houſe and ulcerous ſores
Would caſt the gorge at, this embalms and ſpices
To the April day again.

SHAKSPEARE.

[3] *Venerable name.*]—See a facetious dialogue in Eraſmus, on the abuſe of names—De rebus et vocabulis.

"Jam ſi quis nobis adeſſet dialecticus qui ſcite definiret quid ſit rex, quid epiſcopus, quid magiſtratus, quid philoſophus, fortaſſis et hic invenerimus qui mallent nomen quam rem."

But

But my anceſtors, the Athenians, enacted by a public decree, that none of ſervile condition ſhould ever bear the names of the two valiant youths, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who, to accompliſh the reſtoration of liberty, attacked the life of the tyrant Hippias, deeming it impious that names devoted to their country's liberty ſhould be contaminated by the contagion of ſervitude. Why then do we allow the moſt illuſtrious character of philoſophy to grow vile among the worſt of mankind? I find too," he added, "by a ſimilar example of a contrary kind, that the ancient Romans determined that the prænomens of certain patricians, who had deſerved ill of their country, and for this reaſon had incurred the penalty of death, ſhould not be borne by any other patrician of that family, that their very names might ſeem to be degraded, and to expire along with them.

CHAP. III.

The letter of King Philip [1] to Ariſtotle the philoſopher, on the birth of Alexander.

PHILIP, ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, by whoſe valour and exertions the Macedonians, increaſing their opulence and dominions, began to have ſovereignty over various nations, and whoſe power and arms the celebrated orations of Demoſthenes declare to have been formidable to the whole of Greece; this Philip, though at all times occupied and exerciſed in the toils and triumphs of war, never neglected the liberal purſuits of literature, and the ſtudies of humanity. He did and uttered many things with equal facetiouſneſs and urbanity. There are ſaid

[1] *Philip.*]—For every thing relating to the life of this extraordinary perſonage, I beg leave to refer the reader to Leland's work, the exordium of which ſeems pertinent in this place.—"The founder of the Macedonian greatneſs was by no means of the number of thoſe princes who were aſſiſted by the advantages of an illuſtrious country, who inherited the opulence and force of ſplendid and extenſive dominions, or were ſtrengthened by the acquiſitions, and animated by the atchievements of a long train of renowned anceſtry. To his own abilities alone did Philip owe his elevation, and appears equally great, and equally the object of admiration, in ſurmounting the difficulties attending on his infant power, as in his maturer and more extenſive fortune."

to have been volumes of his letters full of elegance, grace, and wiſdom: ſuch is that in which he related to Ariſtotle the philoſopher the birth of his ſon Alexander[2]. This letter, as it ſeems to be an inducement for care and diligence in the education of children, I have thought proper to tranſcribe, that it may impreſs the minds of parents. It may be interpreted nearly in this manner:

"Philip ſends health to Ariſtotle—Know that a ſon is born to me; I therefore thank the gods, not ſo much becauſe he is born, but that he happened to be born during your life—I hope, that being inſtructed and brought up by you, he may prove worthy both of me and the conduct of affairs."

[2] *Birth of his ſon Alexander.*]—This day was alſo memorable for an event which demonſtrates that there is no exceſs of folly or extravagance to which the human mind may not be tranſported, when warmed by enthuſiaſm. On this day Eroſtratus ſet fire to the temple of Diana at Epheſus, from the ſtrange idea of rendering his name immortal. It is related by Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, that the prieſts of the goddeſs ran frantic through the ſtreets of Epheſus, exclaiming, that on this day ſomething was produced which would cauſe the deſtruction of Aſia. This was of courſe made to apply to the birth of Alexander.

CHAP. IV.

Of the prodigies and miracles of barbarous nations; of their horrid and deſtructive faſcinations—and of women who were ſuddenly turned into men.

AS we were returning from Greece to Italy, we touched at Brunduſium [1], and going on ſhore, we wandered about that celebrated harbour, which Q. Ennius has named *Præpes*, a word ſomewhat remote indeed, but very appoſite—we ſaw ſome bundles of books expoſed for ſale, to which I ran with eagerneſs. They were Greek books, full of prodigies and fables; of things unheard of and incredible, and old writers of no mean authority—Ariſteas [2] of Proconneſus,

[1] *Brunduſium.*]—From this celebrated harbour the Romans uſually embarked to go to Greece. It was in this place, now called Brindiſi, that Virgil died.

[2] *Ariſteas.*]—This Ariſteas was a poet; and a long account of him may be found in the fourth book of Herodotus. Two fragments of his works remain, one in Longinus, the other in Tzetzes.

Iſigonus [3] of Nicæa, Cteſias [4], Oneſicritus [5], Polyſtephanus [6], and Hegeſias [7]. The volumes, from their long expoſure, were very filthy, and in their outward appearance as bad as poſſible. I approached, however, and enquired the price: induced by their wonderful and unexpected cheapneſs, I bought a great many books for very little money; and in the two following nights I took a curſory peruſal of them all. In my progreſs I made ſome ſelections, and noted many wonderful things, which few, if any, of our writers have handled. I have inſerted them in theſe commentaries, that whoever ſhall read them may not

[3] *Iſigonus.*]—This perſon is ſpoken of by Pliny, in the 2d Chapter of the 7th book of his Natural Hiſtory. Perhaps no other account of him remains than what appears in that author.

[4] *Cteſias.*]—This man was an hiſtorian, and wrote many things contradicting the aſſertions of Herodotus. He probably lived in the time of the younger Cyrus. The Bibliotheca of Photius contains the particulars of this author's works, with ſome remarks on his ſtyle and abilities.

[5] *Oneſicritus.*]—Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch, ſeverally make mention of this writer, who was the companion, and who, in a diffuſe metaphorical ſtyle, wrote the exploits of Alexander the Great.

[6] *Polyſtephanus,*]—was an hiſtorian, and is mentioned in terms of reſpect by the Scholiaſt to Apollonius Rhodius.

[7] *Hegeſias.*]—It is related of this philoſopher, that he painted the calamities of life in ſo very forcible a manner, that many of his hearers were induced to put an end to their lives. See Cicero, Tuſculan Queſtions, Book i.

be

be altogether ignorant, and one who has never been a hearer of ſuch things. In theſe books were paſſages ſuch as theſe:—

That the Scythians who are moſt remote, and who live as it were at the very pole, fed on human fleſh, and ſupported themſelves by ſuch nutriment, and were called Anthropophagi [8]: that there were alſo men beneath the ſame climate having one eye in the middle of the forehead, and called Arimaſpi [9], with which

[8] *Anthropophagi.*]—Of whom Herodotus ſpeaks in his Melpomene. See a curious and entertaining chapter on the ſubject of cannibals in Montaigne's Eſſays. There is alſo a paſſage on this ſubject in the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, not unworthy attention.

[9] *Arimaſpi.*]—Theſe people are alſo mentioned by Herodotus, Melpomene, chap. 13. See alſo the Prometheus vinctus of Æſchylus—

——avoid
The Arimaſpian troops, whoſe frowning foreheads
Glare with one blazing eye.

Theſe Arimaſpians are introduced by Lucan, in his third book: he ſays, they bound their hair with gold.

——Auroque ligatas
Subſtringens Arimaſpe comas.

Other authors repreſent, that there were continual wars betwixt the gryphons and Arimaſpians, for this gold, of which fable Milton makes an elegant uſe:

As when a gryphon through the wilderneſs,
With winged courſe, o'er hill or moory dale
Purſues the Arimaſpian, who by ſtealth
Had from his wakeful cuſtody purloin'd
The guarded gold——

countenances the poets deſcribe the Cyclops: that there were alſo men near the ſame diſtrict of extraordinary ſwiftneſs, having the direction of their feet reverſed, and not as other men, pointing forwards. They related alſo, how it had been handed down from tradition, that in a certain remote part of the earth, which is called Albania, men were produced whoſe hair was grey in childhood, and who ſaw more clearly by night than by day: that it was ſaid and believed of the Sauromatæ, who live at a great diſtance beyond the Boryſthenes, that they only took food on every third day, abſtaining on that which intervened. I alſo found written in the ſame books, what I afterwards read in the ſeventh book of the Natural Hiſtory of the Elder Pliny, that in Africa were certain families of men, who had the power of faſcination in their ſpeech[10]; who, if by chance they

[10] *Faſcination in their ſpeech.*]—To this idea Virgil without doubt alludes in his ſeventh Eclogue—

> Aut ſi ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem
> Cingite ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

La Cerda ſays, that it was uſual with the antients, when they praiſed any thing, to add præ-faſcino, that is, ſine faſcino, meaning they had no evil intentions, no thought of faſcination. The baccar was ſuppoſed to counteract the effects of magic. The idea that a power of faſcination exiſted in the eyes was more prevalent, and certainly more plauſible. See Virgil's third Eclogue—

> Neſcio quis teneros oculus mihi faſcinat agnos.
>
> I cannot tell what eye faſcinates my tender lambs.

The

they extrvagantly praiſed beautiful trees, plentiful crops, lovely infants, excellent horſes, cattle which were fat and well fed, all of theſe ſuddenly died from this and no other cauſe. It was related in theſe ſame books, that a mortal faſcination ſometimes exiſts in the eyes; and it is ſaid that there are men in Illyrium, who kill by their ſight thoſe whom they look at for any time, with anger; and that theſe, of whom there are both male and

The ſame Pliny alſo makes mention of a people diſtinguiſhed by peculiarities certainly not leſs wonderful than any which are here deſcribed—they were propagated without women:—

"Gens ſola et in toto orbe præter cæteras mira ſine ulla fœmina omni venere abdicata, ſine pecunia, ſocia palmarum. Ita per ſeculorum millia incredibile dictu gens æterna eſt in qua nemo naſcitur. Tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia eſt."

Which ſentence Mr. Gibbon thus paraphraſes:

"The philoſophic eye of Pliny had ſurveyed with aſtoniſhment a ſolitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees, near the Dead Sea, who ſubſiſted without money, who were propagated without women, and who derived from the diſguſt and repentance of mankind a perpetual ſupply of voluntary aſſociates." See alſo Robinſon's Diſquiſition concerning Ancient India.

But unfortunately Megaſthenes was ſo fond of the marvellous, that he mingled with the truths which he related, many extravagant fictions; and to him may be traced up the fabulous tales of men with ears ſo large that they could wrap themſelves up in them; of others with a ſingle eye, without mouths, without noſes, with long feet and toes turned backwards; of people only three ſpans in height; of wild men with heads in the ſhape of a wedge; of ants as large as foxes, that dug up gold, and many other things no leſs wonderful.

female, who have this deadly power of ſight, have two pupils [11] in each eye. That there are alſo, in the mountains of India, men who have heads, and who bark like dogs [12], and who ſupport themſelves by hunting birds and wild beaſts: as alſo, what is no leſs wonderful, there are, in the extreme parts of the Eaſt, men, called Monocoli, who go hopping on one leg with the moſt wonderful ſwiftneſs; and that there are ſome who have no heads, whoſe eyes are in their ſhoulders. But it exceeeds all bounds of wonder, what theſe ſame writers affirm, that there is a nation in the extremity of India, having their bodies fledged, and with the plumage of birds, who eat no kind of food, but live by inhaling by their noſtrils the perfume of flowers: that not far from theſe are the Pigmies, the talleſt of whom are not more than two feet and a quarter. I read theſe and many other things of the ſame kind, but in tranſcribing them I was diſguſted by the uſeleſſneſs of ſuch writings, not at all contributing to the ornament or comfort of life. Yet I think it not

[11] *Two pupils.*]—Ovid has applied this idea very happily, in ſome verſes, where he execrates a bawd for inſtructing his miſtreſs in meretricious arts.

Hanc ego nocturnas verſam volitare per umbras
Suſpicor, et pluma corpus anile regi,
Suſpicor, et fama eſt oculis quoque pupula duplex
Fulminat, et gemino lumen ab orbe venit.

[12] *Like dogs.*]—See Herodotus, Book iv. chap. 191. to which paſſage, with my note upon it, I beg leave to refer the reader.

improper, in this chapter of miracles, to tranſcribe what Pliny the Elder, a man who, in his own times, was of high authority, both for talents and dignity, has in his ſeventh book of Natural Hiſtory recorded, not as what he had heard or read, but what he had himſelf known and ſeen. The paſſage which is added below is in the words of Pliny, taken from the above-mentioned book, which indeed make the popular tale of Cænis and Cæneus in the old poets neither incredible nor ridiculous.

" That women," he ſays, " have been changed into men [13] is not fabulous. We find, in the Annals, in the conſulſhip of Q. Licinius Craſſus, and Caius Caſſius Longinus, that at Caſſinum a girl became a boy, in the houſe of its parents, and by command of the augurs was tranſported to a deſert iſland. Licinius Mucianus has related that he himſelf ſaw at Argos one Areſcontes, whoſe name had been Areſcuſa, and who had been married, but who afterwards had a beard, became a man, and took a wife: and that at Smyrna alſo he had ſeen a boy of this deſcription. I myſelf, in Africa, ſaw Lucius Coſſicus, a citizen

[13] *Into men.*]—The following extract, without any comment, is from Montaigne: " Myſelf paſſing by Vitry le François, a town in Champagne, ſaw a man, the biſhop of Soiſſons had in confirmation, called German, whom all the inhabitants of the place had known to be a girl, till two-and-twenty years of age called Mary"—It was by ſtraining himſelf in a leap, it ſeems, that this wonderful change took place.

of Thyſdrum, who became a man on the day of his marriage, and was alive when I wrote this."

The ſame Pliny, in the ſame book, has alſo theſe words: "There are men born who have the marks of each ſex, whom we call hermaphrodites; formerly they were called Androgyni, and reckoned prodigies [14], now they are conſidered as objects of delight.

[14] *Prodigies.*]—When any of theſe monſtrous births happened, the child, by order of the Aruſpices, was anciently ordered to be thrown into the ſea.

CHAP. V.

Different opinions of eminent philoſophers concerning the nature of pleaſure.—Words of Hierocles the philoſopher, in which he oppoſes the decrees of Epicurus.

THE ancient philoſophers have avowed different opinions concerning pleaſure. Epicurus aſſerts, that pleaſure is the chief good, and he defines it thus, "a firm conſtitution of body." Antiſthenes, the Socratic, calls it the greateſt evil. His expreſſion is this—"I would rather be mad, than purſue pleaſure."

Speuſippus, and all the old academy, ſay that pleaſure and pain are two evils oppoſing one another; that is good which is intermediate betwixt both. Zeno thought pleaſure a thing indifferent, that is neutral, neither good nor evil, which he himſelf named, by a Greek word, ἀδιαφορον. Critolaus, the Peripatetic, affirms, that pleaſure is an evil, and produces of itſelf many other evils, injuries, ſloth, oblivion, and ſtupidity. Above all theſe, Plato has diſputed concerning pleaſure in ſo many and various ways; that all theſe ſentiments I have mentioned before, ſeem to have iſſued from the ſources of his arguments. For he uſes every one of them, as the nature of pleaſure

itſelf, which is multiplied, allows, and as the reaſon of the cauſes which he inveſtigates, and of the things which he would demonſtrate, requires. But our countryman Taurus, as often as mention was made of Epicurus, had in his mouth, and on his lips, theſe words of Hierocles the Stoic [1], a man of

[1] *Theſe words of Hierocles the Stoic.*]—Enfield's valuable Hiſtory of Philoſophy will ſatisfy and inſtruct the Engliſh reader on the ſubject of the ſummum bonum, or chief good, as diſcuſſed by the ancient philoſophers. The Greek ſaying of Hierocles at the concluſion of the chapter, has ſtrangely perplexed the commentators on Gellius. It remained for our Bentley to remove all obſcurity from the paſſage, by an alteration ſo ſimple that it is wonderful it ſhould not ſooner have occurred, and ſo ſatisfactory as to exclude all further controverſy. I cannot do better than give the reader Bentley's own words:

"Now that I am ſpeaking of προνοια, I cannot omit a very elegant ſaying of Hierocles the Stoic, which, as A. Gellius tells us, the Platonic philoſopher Taurus had always in his mouth when Epicurus was mentioned, Ηδονη τελος πορνης δογμα, ουκ εστιν πορνεια ουδεν πορνης δογμα; which being manifeſtly corrupted, our moſt excellent biſhop Pearſon corrects it thus, Ηδονη τελος· πορνης δογμα· ουκ εστι προνοια ουδεν· πορνης δογμα: That is, "Pleaſure is the ſummum bonum, a ſtrumpet's tenet. Providence is nothing, a ſtrumpet's tenet."—Now the emendation in the main is true and good, for πορνεια is with great ſagacity changed by him into προνοια, which is the baſis of the whole ſentence. But yet there is ſomething harſh in the ſyntax that his Lordſhip has made there, ουκ εστι προνοια ουδεν, for the author, if he had uſed ουδεν, would have ſaid προνοια ουδεν εστι. Beſides, that the ſame anſwer, πορνης δογμα, coming twice, makes the ſaying a little too flat, and ſcarce worthy to be uſed by Taurus ſo frequently; nor is it true that all ſtrumpets deny Providence. I am perſuaded that the true

of great dignity and worth, "Let pleaſure be the end, is the tenet of a harlot; but that there is no Providence, is not the tenet even of an harlot."

true reading is thus: Ἡδονὴ τέλος· πορνης δόγμα· οὐκ ἐστὶ πρόνοια· οὐδὲ πορνης δόγμα. Now it is impoſſible in our language to expreſs this ſaying with the ſame brevity and turn that the original has, but the meaning of it is, "Pleaſure is the ſummum bonum,—a ſtrumpet's tenet. There is no Providence —a tenet too bad even for a ſtrumpet." Bentley on Phalaris.

Pope, in his Ethic Epiſtles, thus comments on the opinions of the ancient philoſophers on happineſs:—

Aſk of the learn'd the way; the learn'd are blind;
This bids to ſerve, and that to ſhun mankind;
Some place the bliſs in action, ſome in eaſe,
Theſe call it pleaſure, and contentment theſe:
Who thus define it, ſay they more or leſs
Than this, that happineſs is happineſs?
One grants his pleaſure is but reſt from pain,
One doubts of all, one owns ev'n virtue vain.

See Biſhop Warburton's remarks on the above paſſage in anſwer to Crouſaz.

CHAP. VI.

How the frequentative verb from ago *is to be pronounced in the firſt vowel* [1].

FROM *ago, egi,* come the verbs which the grammarians call frequentative, *actito, actitavi.* I have heard ſome, and theſe not unlearned men, pronounce theſe as if the firſt vowel was ſhort: and they give as a reaſon that in the principal verb *ago* the firſt vowel is ſo pronounced. Why then from the verbs *edo* and *ungo,* in which verbs the firſt letter is pronounced ſhort, do we make the firſt letter of their frequentatives *eſito* and *unctito* long; and on the contrary we make the firſt letter of *dictito,* which comes from *dico,* ſhort? Are therefore *actito* and *actitavi* to be long?

Since frequentatives are almoſt without exception pronounced, with reſpect to the firſt vowel,

[1] This is without doubt one of the chapters in Gellius which cannot be ſuppoſed materially to intereſt the Engliſh reader, but, with many other chapters, it is of uſe to prove that the Romans muſt unqueſtionably have had a mode, and that a very delicate one, of varying the pronunciation of words, ſome of which, to us, appear perfectly unequivocal. In ſuch a word as *actito,* or *unctito,* the firſt vowel is obviouſly long by poſition, nor is it eaſy to vary its pronunciation, ſo that it might be imagined a ſhort ſyllable.

Quando veteres dicunt ſyllabam eſſe brevem quæ poſitione ſit longa, intelligi hoc debet de ſolo vocalis ſono, non de ſyllaba; ſic prima in *dictito* brevis, ut A. Gellius ait, lib. ix. cap. 6. quaſi dicas etſi dicatur *deico,* tamen ejus frequentativum non ſonare *deictito,* ſed *di-ctito.*—Voſſius de Arte Grammatica, l. ii. c. 12. See alſo what he ſays, l. i. c. 12. about *unctito, actito,* &c.

as the participles of the preterite of the verbs from which they are derived are pronounced, on the ſame ſyllable, as *lego, lectus, lectito*; ſo *ungo, unctus, unctito*; *ſcribo, ſcriptus, ſcriptito*; *moveo, motus, motito*; *pendeo, penſus, penſito*; *edo, eſus, eſito*; but we ſay *dico, dictus, dictito*; *gero, geſtus, geſtito*; *veto, vectus, vectito*; *rapio, raptus, raptito*; *capio, captus, captito*; *facio, factus, factito*. So alſo *actito* is to be pronounced long in the firſt ſyllable, ſince it comes from *ago, actus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the change of leaves [1] *on the olive-tree on the firſt day of winter and ſummer. Of muſical ſtrings ſounding at that time without being ſtruck.*

IT has been popularly written and believed, that the leaves of olive-trees undergo a change on the firſt day of the winter or ſummer ſolſtice; and that part of them which was beneath and out of ſight became uppermoſt, viſible to the eye, and expoſed to the ſun; which I myſelf, more than once, being deſirous to obſerve, have ſeen actually take place.

[1] *Change of leaves.*]—Aſſertions made in this unequivocal form muſt certainly have been the reſult of ſome obſervation, however erroneous. Of the ſcience of botany the ancients without doubt knew a great deal more than we are inclined to allow; but this remark of Gellius, with reſpect to the olive, is unqueſtionably a miſtake. Some leaves, as for inſtance thoſe of the aſpin and the poplar, which are ſubject to a conſtant and tremulous motion, might, from being in a greater degree affected by the equinoctial winds, deceive the eye; and there are alſo other leaves, as thoſe of the hyacinth, campanula, &c. which can perform their functions in any ſituation. But the olive is a ſturdy and inflexible plant, and if the leaves were, by any operation, placed with the lower parts above, the fibres muſt be wounded, and the leaves die. Here is therefore ſome greater miſtake than my knowledge of the ſubject will enable me to explain.

But

But what is ſaid of muſical ſtrings[z] is more uncommon and wonderful, which thing many other learned men, and in particular Suetonius Tranquillus, in his book of Ludicrous Hiſtory, affirms, has been ſufficiently proved, and indeed is unequivocally certain, that ſome chords of muſical inſtruments, on the day of the winter ſolſtice, being ſtruck with the fingers, others will ſound.

[z] *Muſical ſtrings.*]—With the uſual inaccuracy of the ancients in matters of experiment, we have an effect of muſical ſtrings here mentioned as belonging to a particular ſeaſon, which would doubtleſs have taken place at any other time, though perhaps better in ſome kinds of weather than in others. From the conciſe manner in which the fact is mentioned, it is rather doubtful what might be intended; but as we know of no ſympathetic ſounds except thoſe produced by the vibration of ſtrings in uniſon, or octave, to the ſtring which is ſtruck, we may conclude that this was what Suetonius wrote of. As the inſtruments of the ancients had no great compaſs of notes, it probably was meant that a ſtring ſtruck on one lyre would produce ſound in another; which certainly is true, but this effect would have taken place at any part of the year, had it been tried. We cannot ſuppoſe any thing ſo ſubtle to be intended as the third ſounds of Romieu and Tartini, the production of which depends upon holding out the ſounds of two notes at once, in a way that could not have been practiſed on the ancient *fides*. This, however, or any other effect we can conceive of ſuch a nature, would have happened in all ſeaſons.

CHAP. VIII.

He who has much muſt neceſſarily want much.—The opinion of Favorinus the philoſopher on this ſubject expreſſed with elegant brevity [1].

IT is certainly true what wiſe men, from their obſervation of the uſe of things, have ſaid, that he who has much muſt want much, and

[1] That this chapter contains a great moral truth, nobody will attempt to deny; and a multitude of paſſages might be cited, both from Greek and Latin writers, to prove that the idea and expreſſion was proverbial.

Gronovius thinks, and with great probability, that in this place Favorinus alludes to the celebrated Lucullus, whoſe enormous wealth was a frequent ſubject of admiration with the poets and writers of his time.

Chlamydes, Lucullus, ut aiunt,
Si poſſet centum ſcenæ præbere rogatus,
Qui poſſum tot ait; tamen et quænam et quos habebo.
Mittam, poſt paulo ſcribit ſibi millia quinque
Eſſe domi Chlamydum, partem vel tolleret omnes.

Pope, perhaps, in his imitation of Horace, has been leſs ſucceſsful, with reſpect to this brilliant paſſage, than in other places: he contents himſelf with ſaying,

This wealth brave Timon glorioufly confounds;
Aſk'd for a groat, he gives a thouſand pounds.

Perhaps in any other writer than Pope it would have been obſerved, that the firſt line is far from perſpicuous; for i may

and that great indigence ariſes not from great want, but great abundance. For many things are wanted to preſerve the many things which you have. Whoever, therefore, having much, wiſhes to take care, and ſee before-hand that he may not want or be defective in any thing, has need of loſs and not of gain, and muſt have leſs that he may want leſs. I remember this ſentiment uttered by Favorinus, amidſt the loudeſt applauſes, and conveyed in theſe very few words:

"He who has ten thouſand or five thouſand garments, muſt inevitably want more. Wanting therefore ſomething more than I poſſeſs, if I take away from what I have, I may content myſelf with the remainder."

may be aſked, what is meant by Timon confounding his wealth? The idea of Horace is very different, and lucid as the light itſelf: he repreſents an individual as being ſo exceedingly rich, that he does not know the extent of his riches. The quotation from Favorinus, as it ſtands in the edition of Gronovius, is not ſatisfactory. But all difficulty ſeems immediately to be removed, if inſtead of οις γαρ εχω we read οις γ' αρ εχω.

CHAP. IX.

Manner of transferring Greek ſentiments into Latin compoſitions.—Of thoſe verſes of Homer which Virgil has been thought to have imitated well and elegantly, or the contrary.

WHEN elegant ſentiments are to be imitated and tranſlated from Greek poems, we are not, it is ſaid, always to endeavour to place every word[1] according to the order in which they originally ſtand; for many things loſe their beauty when, in a tranſlation, they are diſtorted as it were by unnatural violence. Virgil has therefore demonſtrated both ſkill and

[1] *To place every word.*]—A ſimilar ſentiment is expreſſed by Lord Bolingbroke, in his Letters on Hiſtory, which I have before had occaſion to quote. To tranſlate ſervilely into modern language an ancient author, phraſe by phraſe, and word by word, is prepoſterous, &c.

From an ingenious publication, entitled, An Eſſay on the Principles of Tranſlation, I extract the following account of a perfect tranſlation: "I would therefore," ſays this writer, "deſcribe a good tranſlation to be that in which the merit of the original work is ſo completely transfuſed into another language, as to be as diſtinctly apprehended, and as ſtrongly felt, by a native of the country to which that language belongs, as it is by thoſe who ſpeak the language of the original work."

judgment,

judgment, when, deſiring to transfer paſſages from Homer, Heſiod, Apollonius, Parthenius, Callimachus, or Theocritus, he has omitted ſome things, and borrowed others. Thus, when very lately at table the Bucolics of Theocritus and Virgil were read together, we perceived that Virgil had omitted what in the Greek is indeed very delightful, but which neither can nor ought to be tranſlated. But what he has ſubſtituted in place of what he omitted, is perhaps more agreeable and pertinent.

Βαλλει και μαλοισι τον αιπολον ἁ Κλεαρίστα[2]
Τας αιγας παρελωντα και αὐυ τι ποππυλιασδει.

Malo me Galatea petit, laſciva puella,
Et fugit ad ſalices et ſe cupit ante videri.

[2] Theſe lines of Theocritus are thus tranſlated by Mr. Polwhele:

Oft Clearista pelts with apples *criſp*
Her ſwain, and in a whiſper loves to liſp.

But this is inadequate, and leaves out a material circumſtance. The literal meaning is, Clearista throws apples at the goat-herd *as he drives his goats along*, whiſpering ſomething kind at the time.

Virgil's lines are thus rendered by Dryden,

My Phyllis me with pelted apples plies,
Then tripping to the woods the wanton hies,
And wiſhes to be ſeen before ſhe flies.

A ſimilar idea is beautifully expreſſed by Horace—

Nunc et latentes proditor intimo
Gratus puellæ riſus ab angulo.

We obſerved alſo that in another paſſage he had carefully omitted what in the Greek verſe is moſt delightful—

Τιτυρ εμιν το καλον πεφιλαμενε, βοσκε τας αιγας [3]
Και ποτι ταν κραναν αγε Τιτυρε· και Τον ενορχαν
Τον Λιβυκον Κναμωνα φυλασσεο μη το κορυψη.

How could he have expreſſed το καλον πεφιλαμενε, which words indeed defy tranſlation, but have a certain native ſweetneſs? This therefore he omitted, transferring the reſt with much pleaſantry; except that what Theocritus calls ενορχαν he calls *caprum*. According to Varro that in Latin is *caper* which has been caſtrated,—

Tityre, dum redeo, brevis eſt via, paſce capellas
Et potum paſtas age, Tityre, et inter agendum
Occurſare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto.

[3] The Greek lines of Theocritus are thus rendered by Mr. Polwhele.

Tityrus, guide them to their wonted rill;
Yet, whether ſtream or paſturage be thy care,
That Lybian ram with butting head beware.

The correſpondent verſes in the ninth Eclogue of Virgil, Dryden thus tranſlates—

Oh Tityrus, tend my herd, and ſee them fed,
To morning paſtures, evening waters led,
And ware the Lybian ridgil's butting head.

Ridgil is a word of rare occurrence. In another place Dryden uſes ridgling—it means a ram half caſtrated. Lord Lauderdale, in his verſion of Virgil, has the ſame word.

And

And now I am on this ſubject of transferring paſſages from one language to another, I remember hearing from the ſcholars of Valerius Probus, a learned man, and very expert in comprehending, and properly eſtimating the writings of the ancients, that he was uſed to ſay, that Virgil had in no inſtance imitated Homer with leſs ſucceſs than in theſe charming verſes, in which Homer deſcribes Nauſicaa:

Οιη δ' Αρτεμις εισι κατ' ορεος ιοχεαιρα, *
Η κατα Τηυγετον περιμηκετον, η Ερυμανθον
Τερπομενη καπροισι και ωκειης ελαφοισι,
Τη δε θ' αμα νυμφαι, κυραι Διος αιγιοχοιο
Αγρονομοι παιζουσι, γεγηθε δε τε φρενα Λητώ
Πασαων δ' υπερ ηγε καρη εχει ηδε μετωπα.
Ρεια δ' αριγνωτη πελεται καλαι δε τε πασαι.

Qualis

* I uſe Pope's tranſlation of theſe lines from Homer:

As when o'er Erymanth Diana roves,
Or wide Täygetus reſounding groves,
A ſilver train the huntreſs queen ſurrounds,
Her rattling quiver from her ſhoulder ſounds;
Fierce in the ſport, along the mountain's brow
They bay the boar, or chaſe the bounding roe;
High o'er the lawn, with more majeſtic pace,
Above the nymphs ſhe treads with ſtately grace;
Diſtinguiſh'd excellence the goddeſs proves,
Exults Latona as the virgin moves:
With equal grace Nauſicaa trod the plain,
And ſhone tranſcendent o'er the beauteous train.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis aut per juga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros: quam mille ſecutæ
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades, illa
pharetram

Theſe of Virgil are thus rendered by Dryden—

Such on Eurotas banks, or Cynthus height,
Diana ſeems, and ſo ſhe charms the ſight.
When in the dance the graceful goddeſs leads
The quire of nymphs, and overtops their heads,
Known by her quiver and her lofty mein,
She walks majeſtic, and ſhe looks their queen.

It may not be improper to inſert here the anſwer of Scaliger to this criticiſm of Gellius, which, however, will not ſatisfy every reader. I tranſcribe the note from Pope's own edition of his Homer.

Scaliger obſerves, that the perſons, not the places, are intended to be repreſented by both poets; otherwiſe Homer himſelf is blameable, for Nauſicaa is not ſporting on a mountain, but a plain, and has neither bow nor quiver, like Diana. Neither is there any weight in the objection concerning the gravity of the gait of Dido, for neither is Nauſicaa deſcribed in the act of hunting, but dancing. And as for the word *pertentant*, it is a metaphor taken from muſicians and muſical inſtruments, it denotes a ſtrong degree of joy. *Per* bears an intenſive ſenſe, and takes in the perfection of joy. As to the quiver, it was an enſign of the goddeſs, as ἀργυροτοξος was of Apollo, and is applied to her upon all occaſions indifferently, not only by Virgil but more frequently by Homer. Laſtly, ῥεια δε, &c. is ſuperfluous, for the joy of Latona compleats the whole; and Homer has already ſaid, γεγηθε δε, &c.

Upon which Pope remarks, that there is ſtill a greater correſpondence to the ſubject intended to be illuſtrated in Homer than in Virgil, which indeed ſeems ſufficiently obvious, without adding any thing further on the ſubject.

Fert

Fert humero, gradienſque deas ſupereminet omnes,
Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

They obſerved, firſt, that it appeared to Probus, that in Homer the virgin Nauſicaa, ſporting among her fellow nymphs in a ſolitary place, is properly and conſiſtently compared with Diana hunting on the ſummits of the mountains among the rural goddeſſes: but Virgil has been by no means conſiſtent; for as Dido is in the midſt of a city, walking among the Tyrian princes, with a ſerious gait and geſture, as he himſelf ſays, ſuperintending the labours of her people and her future empire, he can from thence take no ſimilitude adapted to the ſports and huntings of Diana. Homer afterwards ingeniouſly and directly places the pleaſures and purſuits of Diana in hunting. But Virgil, not having ſaid any thing concerning the hunting of the goddeſs, only makes her carry her quiver on her ſhoulder as a fatigue and a burden. And they added, that Probus particularly expreſſed his ſurprize at Virgil's doing this, becauſe the Diana of Homer enjoys a real and unaffected delight, and one which entered deeply into the very receſſes of her ſoul; for what elſe can mean γεγηθε δε τε φρενα Αρτω? which Virgil deſiring to imitate, has repreſented a ſtupid, trifling, precarious pleaſure, affecting only the ſurface of the heart; for he could no otherwiſe underſtand the term *pertentant*. Beſides all this,

Virgil appears to have omitted the flower of the paſſage, having taken no notice of this verſe of Homer—

Ρεια δε αριγνωτη πελεται· καλαι δε τε πασαι.

Since no greater or more expreſſive praiſe of beauty could poſſibly be introduced, than that ſhe alone excelled where all were fair; ſhe alone was eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt.

CHAP. X.

That Annæus Cornutus has injured, by an unjuſt and odious calumny, thoſe lines of Virgil wherein he, with modeſt reſerve, ſpeaks of the matrimonial intercourſe betwixt Venus and Vulcan.

ANNIANUS the poet, and many others alſo of ſimilar purſuits in literature, have commended with great and repeated praiſe the verſes of Virgil, in which he deſcribes the conjugal union of Vulcan and Venus. Having to repreſent what the laws of nature require to be concealed, he involved it in a modeſt application of words. He ſays thus—

——Ea verba locutus [1]
Optatos dedit amplexus: placidumque petivit
Conjugis infuſus gremio per membra ſoporem.

They

[1] *Ea verba, &c.*]—Thus rendered by Dryden—

Trembling he ſpoke, and, eager of her charms,
He ſnatch'd the willing goddeſs to his arms,
Till in her lap infus'd he lay, poſſeſs'd
Of full deſire, and ſunk to pleaſing reſt.

Similar to the expreſſion in the original of conjugis infuſus gremio, is that in the ſecond Georgic—

Fœcundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit, &c.

They thought it leſs difficult, in deſcribing a thing of this kind, to uſe words demonſtrating it by one or more ſhort and ſimple ſign, as Homer has ſaid, παρθενικης ζωνην, και λεκτροιο θεσμον, and εργα φιλοτητια.

Τω μεν αρ εν τρητοισι κατευνασθεν λεχεεσσιν.

But no other perſon has repreſented this ſacred myſtery of chaſte enjoyment in ſo many plain, yet not obſcene[2], but pure and honeſt terms. But Annæus Cornutus, a man in other reſpects neither unlearned, nor abſurd, in the ſecond book which he wrote on the Figures of Speech, has violated the whole of this highly to be commended modeſty, by a prepoſterous and odious examination. For, having approved this kind of figure, and allowed the verſes to be compoſed with ſufficient circumſpection, he ſays that he has uſed the word *membra* ſomewhat indiſcreetly.

See a curious chapter in the Adverſaria of Gataker upon λογοι σεμνοι, where, among other things, he ſays, "Ita nec verba nuda claraque ſermo patitur pudicus ubi facti mentionem erigit cauſæ juſta neceſſitas." See alſo Plutarch de Præceptis Conjug. The Annotations alſo of Quintus Carolus on this chapter are worth conſulting.

[2] *Not obſcene.*]—In the original, verbis prætextatis, the origin of which is differently explained by learned men. The ſame expreſſion occurs in Suetonius. See the Life of Veſpaſian. Erat enim dicacitatis plurimæ, et ſic ſcurrilis ac ſordidæ, ut ne prætextatis quidem verbis abſtineret.

CHAP. XI.

Of Valerius Corvinus, and why called Corvinus.[1]

NONE of our beſt writers have ſpoken differently of M. Valerius, than that he was called Corvinus from the aid given him in battle by a raven. This really wonderful incident is thus related in the books of Annals:

"A youth ſo deſcended[2] was, in the conſulſhip of L. Furius and Claudius Appius, made a military tribune. At this time large bodies of the Gauls had taken poſſeſſion of the plains of Pomptinum[3], and the forces were drawn out by the conſuls, who were not without alarm at the power and number of the enemy. Then the leader of the Gauls, of vaſt and gigantic ſtature, [illegible] arms glittering with gold, advanced with a rapid ſtep, and

[1] This ſtory of Corvinus is to be found in Livy, and is alſo related by Valerius Maximus.

[2] *So deſcended.*]—The reader will obſerve that this is the continuance of a ſtory.

[3] *Pomptinum,*]—is written variouſly, Pomtinus and Pometinus. This place was, in the time of Juvenal, the reſort of robbers.

> Interdum et ferro ſubitus graſſator agit rem,
> Armato quoties tuta cuſtode tenentur,
> Et Pontina palus et Gallinaria pinus.

wielding

wielding in his hand a ſpear. Looking round him, with an air of haughtineſs and contempt, he challenged from the whole Roman army any one to come forth and encounter him. Then Valerius the tribune, the reſt heſitating[4] from fear or ſhame, firſt demanding leave of the conſuls to engage this vain boaſter, went forth with an undaunted yet modeſt ſtep to meet him.—They met, and, after a ſhort pauſe, commenced an attack;—but here a divine interpoſition was viſible. Suddenly a raven flew and reſted on the helmet of the tribune, and thence began to attack the face and eyes of his opponent. It leaped upon him, and greatly haraſſed him, tearing him with his claws, and obſtructing his ſight with his wings; and having ſatisfied his rage, flew back to the helmet of the tribune. Thus the tribune, in the ſight of both armies, by the force of his own valour, and the aſſiſtance of the bird, conquered

[4] *The reſt.*]—Thus Homer deſcribes the effect of Hector's challenge on the Grecian army—

> The fierce defiance Greece aſtoniſh'd heard,
> Bluſh'd to refuſe, and to accept it fear'd.

Such alſo was the impreſſion made by the challenge of Goliath: "When Saul and all Iſrael heard theſe words of the Philiſtine, they were diſmayed and greatly afraid."

When Argantes in Taſſo challenges the nobles in the camp of Godfrey, they are repreſented as being indignant, but not afraid.

> The challenge gan he then at large expoſe,
> With mighty threats, high terms, and glorious words.
> On every ſide an angry murmur roſe.

the

and ſlew the daring leader of the enemy; and from this circumſtance he obtained the cognomen of *Corvinus*. This happened in the four hundred and fifth year from the building of the city. To this Corvinus the divine Auguſtus erected a ſtatue in his own forum [5], upon the head of which ſtatue is a raven, commemorating the incident and battle above deſcribed."

[5] *In his own forum.*]—The forum of Auguſtus is reckoned by Pliny among the moſt magnificent ornaments of Rome. Till the time of Auguſtus there were but three forums at Rome, the Roman, Julian, and that of Auguſtus, more were afterwards added. They muſt have made a ſplendid appearance, for they were ſurrounded by porticoes, and adorned with marble columns and ſtatues.

CHAP. XII.

Of words which are uſed with two oppoſite ſignifications. [1]

AS the term *formidoloſus* is applied both to him who fears, and to him who is feared; *invidioſus* to him who envies, and to him who is envied; *ſuſpicioſus* to him who ſuſpects, and to him who is ſuſpected; *ambitioſus* to him who ſolicits a vote, and to him whoſe vote is ſolicited; as *gratioſus* to him who gives, and to him who receives thanks; *laborioſus* to him who labours, and to that which is laboured upon; and as many other words of this kind may be applied both ways, ſo *infeſtus* is alſo uſed in an ambiguous ſenſe: for he is called *infeſtus* who offers injury to any one, and ſo is he alſo over whom the injury is ſuſpended. But what I had aſſerted before by

[1] The circumſtance noticed in this chapter is perhaps common to all languages: in our own particularly, the word *fearful*, correſponding to the Latin *formidoloſus*, is uſed in both ſenſes. We ſay it is a *fearful*, for it is a *dreadful* thing; and we alſo ſay of a timorous perſon that he is very *fearful*. Shakſpeare ſays—

And in a time,
When *fearful* wars point at me.

We ſay a *ſuſpicious perſon* alſo for one likely to excite ſuſpicion, as well as for one whoſe diſpoſition inclines him to feel it.

no means wants examples. So alſo many call an enemy or opponent *infeſtum*. But the other aſſertion is leſs known, and more obſcure; for who in general would apply the term *infeſtus* to him, to whom another was *infeſtus* (an enemy)? But many of the ancient writers did this; and M. Tullius, in the oration which he wrote for Cn. Plancus, has thus uſed this word:

" Dolebam Judices et acerbe ferebam ſi hujus ſalus ob eam ipſam cauſam eſſet *infeſtior* quod is meam ſalutem, atque vitam ſua benivolentia præſidio, cuſtodiaque texiſſet."

We enquired therefore concerning the origin and reaſon of the word, and found it thus explained by Nigidius:

" *Infeſtum* is ſo called *a feſtinando*[2], for he who preſſes upon any one, and eagerly urges him, and ſtudies and makes haſte to injure him; or, on the contrary, if any one's peril or ruin is eagerly haſtened, both are ſaid to be *infeſtus*, from the urgency and imminence of the miſchief which is either about to be committed or endured."

If any one ſhall wiſh to ſee an example for *ſuſpicioſus* above-mentioned, or of *formidoloſus*, in the leſs common ſenſe, concerning the former

[2] *A feſtinando.*]—I queſtion whether this derivation will ſatisfy many readers. It is certainly far-fetched. Voſſius would derive it immediately from *feſtus*. The etymology here given by Nigidius is adopted by Nonius Marcellus.

word he may find this paſſage in M. Cato, "de Re Floria [3]."

"Sed niſi qui palam corpore pecuniam quæreret, aut ſe lenoni locaviſſet et ſi *fabuloſus* et *ſuſpicioſus* fuiſſet, vim in corpus liberum non æquum cenſuere afferri."

Here Cato uſes the word *ſuſpicioſus* for one *ſuſpected*, not for one who ſuſpects.

Salluſt, in his Catiline, thus uſes *formidoloſus* for one who is feared—

"Igitur talibus viris non labos inſolitus, non locus ullus aſper aut arduus erat, non armatus hoſtis *formidoloſus*."

Thus alſo C. Calvus, in his poems, uſes *laborioſus*, not in the common acceptation, for him who labours, but for that which is laboured upon. He ſays—

Durum rus fugis et *laborioſum*.

In the ſame manner Laberius alſo, in his Siſters—

Œcaſtor multum *ſomniculoſum*.

And Cinna, in his poems—

Somniculoſum ut Pœnus aſpidem Pſyllus.

The words *metus* and *injuria* alſo, with ſome

[3] *Re Floria.*]—It is ſufficiently known, that in the ceremonies obſerved at Rome in honour of the goddeſs Flora, many obſcenities were practiſed; againſt theſe Cato wrote a book. Lactantius and Arnobius both of them reprobated with becoming ſeverity theſe feſtivals; and indeed every thing was then practiſed offenſive to delicacy and good morals. Ovid calls this goddeſs Floris.

others of this kind, may ſo be applied both ways; for *metus hoſtium* is proper, both when enemies fear, and are feared. Therefore Salluſt, in his firſt hiſtory, ſays, *metum Pompeii*, not that Pompey was afraid, which is the more common ſenſe, but that he was feared. Theſe are Salluſt's words: "Id bellum excitabat *metus* Pompeii victoris Hiempſalem in regnum reſtituentis." Thus alſo in another place,—"Poſtquam remoto *metu* Punico ſimultates exercere vacuum fuit."

We alſo apply *injuriæ* to thoſe who ſuffer, and thoſe who commit injury, examples of which may eaſily be found. The following expreſſion alſo in Virgil has this ſame form of ſignification, to be interpreted either way—

Et vulnere tardus Ulyſſei—

ſpeaking of the wound, not which Ulyſſes had received, but inflicted. *Neſcius* is alſo applied to him who is unknown, and to him who knows not. Only that *qui neſcit* is the more frequent acceptation of this word, *quod neſcitur* not ſo. *Ignarus* may in like manner be applied both ways, and means not only he who is ignorant, but who is unknown. Plautus, in his Rudens, ſays—

Quæ in locis *neſciis neſcia* ſpe ſumus.

And Salluſt—

More humanæ cupidinis *ignara* viſundi.

And Virgil—

Ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta.

CHAP. XIII.

A paſſage from the Hiſtory of Claudius Quadrigarius, where he deſcribes the engagement of Manlius Torquatus, a noble youth, and an enemy of Gaul, who gave a general challenge.

TITUS MANLIUS was a perſon of high rank, and of the firſt degree of nobility; he afterwards received the cognomen of Torquatus. We have been informed that the cauſe of this cognomen was a chain, a golden ſpoil which he took away from an enemy whom he ſlew, and afterwards wore. Who the enemy was, of how great and formidable ſtature, how audacious the challenge, and in what kind of battle they fought, Quintus Claudius, in his firſt book of Annals, has deſcribed with much purity and elegance, and in the ſimple and unadorned ſweetneſs of ancient language. When Favorinus the philoſopher read the paſſage from this book, he uſed to ſay that his mind was affected with no leſs ſerious emotion, than if he had ſeen the combatants engaged before him.—I have added the words of Claudius, in which this battle is deſcribed:

"At

" At this period a Gaul, entirely unprotected, except with his ſhield and two ſwords [1], advanced, wearing a chain and bracelets: he was ſuperior to the reſt in ſtrength, in ſize, in vigour, and in courage. In the very height of the battle, when both ſides were fighting with the greateſt ardour, he made a motion with his hand [2] that the

[1] *Shield and two ſwords.*]—The ſhields of the Germans and Gauls were very large, their ſwords very long and heavy. One of theſe ſwords was probably a dagger. The Turks, beſides their ſword, have commonly a dagger ſtuck in their girdle. The moſt ſublime deſcription of a battle betwixt two warriors, is that of Milton, in his ſixth book, where Satan is repreſented as oppoſed to Michael:—

Who, though with the tongue
Of angels, can relate, or to what things
Liken on earth conſpicuous, that may lift
Human imagination to ſuch height
Of godlike power? for likeſt gods they ſeem'd,
Stood they or mov'd, in ſtature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great heaven.
Now wav'd their fiery ſwords, and in the air
Made horrid circles; two broad ſuns their ſhields
Blaz'd oppoſite, while expectation ſtood
In horror: from each hand with ſpeed retir'd,
Where erſt was thickeſt fight, th' angelic throng,
And left large field, unſafe within the wind
Of ſuch commotion, &c. &c.

[2] *Motion with his hand.*]—It is not eaſy to conceive how, in the clamour and tumult of a great battle, in which multitudes were engaged, this could be effected. Homer deſcribes

the battle ſhould ceaſe on both ſides. A ceſſation enſued; immediately ſilence being obtained he cried with a loud voice, that if any one would fight with him, he was to come forth. On account of his ſtature and ferocious appearance, nobody anſwered. The Gaul then began to expreſs ſcorn and contempt[3]. A perſon named Manlius, of illuſtrious rank, was ſuddenly ſtruck with grief that ſo great a diſgrace ſhould happen to his country, and that of ſo numerous an army, no one ſhould accept the challenge. He, I ſay, on this advanced, nor would ſuffer the Roman valour to be baſely contaminated by a Gaul; armed with the ſhield of a foot ſoldier, and a Spaniſh ſword, he accordingly met him. This meeting on the bridge, in the preſence of both armies, inſpired univerſal awe. As I before ſaid, they met in arms: the Gaul, according to the manner of his country, putting forth his ſhield, advanced with a kind of ſong[4]. Manlius, relying on

Hector as ſuſpending the battle by a motion of his ſpear, that is, with regard to his own troops,—

> The challenge Hector heard with joy;
> Then with his ſpear reſtrain'd the youth of Troy,
> Held by the midſt athwart, and near the foe
> Advanc'd, with ſteps majeſtically ſlow.

[3] *Contempt.*]—See Chapter XI.

[4] *With a ſong.*]—I have deſcribed, in my notes to Herodotus, the different modes in which the ancients advanced to combat. The modern Gauls, it ſeems, affect to advance to battle with a ſong; and the Marſeillois hymn has been the ſignal of many a ſanguinary ſcene.

his

his courage rather than ſkill, ſtruck ſhield to ſhield, and diſconcerted the poſition of the Gaul. When the Gaul a ſecond time endeavoured to place himſelf in a ſimilar poſition, a ſecond time Manlius ſtruck ſhield to ſhield, and again obliged the Gaul to ſhift his ground. Thus placing himſelf as it were beneath the ſword of the Gaul, he ſtabbed him in the breaſt with his Spaniſh blade. He then, by the force of his right ſhoulder, continued the blow, nor did he remit his effort till he had overthrown him, not ſuffering the Gaul to have the opportunity of a ſtroke. When he had overcome him he cut off his head [5], took his chain, and placed it, ſtained with blood, round his own neck; from which incident, both he and his deſcendants bore the cognomen of Torquatus." From this Titus Manlius, whoſe battle Quadrigarius has here deſcribed, all ſevere and imperious orders were called Manlian [6], ſince afterwards,

[5] *Cut off his head.*]—It ſeems in a manner the natural impulſe of a fierce and barbarous people to cut off the heads of their enemies, partly to ſatisfy revenge, and partly to carry away as a trophy. This we accordingly find to have been done; and hence, among the Indians of America, roſe the cuſtom of ſcalping. It was found cumbrous and inconvenient to carry away a number of heads, for it muſt have been a conſtant impediment to flight, and indeed to activity. Convenience, therefore, ſuggeſted the idea of taking away only the ſcalp, an operation which the Indians perform with extraordinary ſkill and facility.

[6] *Manlian.*]—Manliana imperia became a proverbial expreſſion. The fact here alluded to is recorded in the

afterwards, when he was conſul in a war againſt the Latins, he commanded his ſon to be beheaded, who being ſent by him to reconnoitre, with orders not to fight, had killed an enemy who had challenged him.

eighth book of Livy; and the hiſtorian, after relating the ſtory, makes an obſervation which equally becomes him as a philoſopher and a man of humanity. The example, ſays he, was doubtleſs ſalutary with regard to poſterity, but at the period when it was perpetrated it could not fail to make the character of the conſul odious. Valerius Maximus relates the ſame anecdote, adding, that when Manlius returned to Rome, none of the young men would go to meet him; in ſuch deteſtation was he held by all the Roman youth, who among themſelves gave him the name of Imperioſus.

CHAP. XIV.

The ſame Quadrigarius aſſerts, that hujus facies, *in the genitive caſe, is proper and good Latin; with other obſervations on the declenſions of ſimilar words.*

THE expreſſion made uſe of by Quadrigarius in the preceding chapter, *Propter magnitudinem atque immanitatem facies*, I have taken pains to diſcover in ſome of our old writers, and I find that he has authority for it: for many of the ancients thus declined *facies, hæc facies, hujus facies*; which now, in grammatical propriety, is written *faciei*. But I have found ſome corrupted books, in which *faciei* is uſed; the word *facies* written before being obliterated. I remember alſo, that in the library of Tiburtus [1], in this ſame book of Quadrigarius, I have found both words uſed, *facies* and *faciei*. But *facies* was uſed in the text, and *facii*, with a double *i*, written in the margin; and it appeared to us that this was entirely conſiſtent with ancient uſage. For as they ſaid *hic dies* and *hujus dii*, ſo alſo from *hæc fames*

[1] *Tiburtus.*]—See our author again, Book xix. c. 5. where he ſays this library was in the temple of Hercules.

they uſe *hujus fami.* Q. Ennius, in his ſixteenth Annal, has uſed *dies* for *diei*, in this verſe:

Poſtremæ longinqua dies confecerit ætas.

Cæſellius alſo affirms, that in the oration which Cicero made for P. Seſtius [2], he wrote *dies* inſtead of *diei.* After conſiderable pains, and the careful examination of many old copies, I find it actually written as Cæſellius affirms. Theſe are the words of M. Tully: *Equites vero daturos illius* dies *horas.* It is this fact which induces me the more readily to give credit to thoſe who have aſſerted, that they had ſeen a manuſcript in Virgil's own hand, in which it is thus written:

Libra *dies* [3], ſomnique pares ubi fecerit horas.

That

[2] *Seſtius.*]—In Cicero it is read Sextius; but Seſtius is found in many manuſcripts.

[3] *Libra dies,* &c.]

When Libra has made the hours of the day and ſleep equal. The note of Martyn at this paſſage of Virgil is ſo curious that I inſert it here.

"Here Virgil exemplifies his precept relating to aſtronomy. The time which he mentions for ſowing barley, is from the autumnal equinox to the winter ſolſtice. This perhaps may ſeem ſtrange to an Engliſh reader; it being our cuſtom to ſow it in the ſpring. But it is certain, that in warmer climates they ſow it at the latter end of the year; whence it happens that their barley-harveſt is conſiderably ſooner than their wheat-harveſt. Thus we find, in the book of Exodus, that the flax and the barley were deſtroyed by the hail, becauſe the barley was in the ear and the flax was in ſeed; but the wheat and the rye eſcaped, becauſe they were not yet come up."

This

That is, *Libra diei ſomnique.* But as in this paſſage Virgil ſeems to have written *dies*; ſo there is no doubt, but that in this verſe he has written *dii* for *diei:*

Munera, lætitiamque *dii*—

which thoſe who are leſs learned read *dei*, from a kind of diſguſt ariſing from want of uſe. So alſo by the ancients it was declined, *dies, dii*; as *fames, fami*; *pernicies, pernicii*; *progenies, progenii*; *luxuries, luxurii*; and *acies, acii.* M. Cato, in the oration which he made on the Carthaginian war, wrote thus: *Pueri atque mulieres extrudebantur fami cauſa.* Lucilius, in his fifteenth book, ſays: *Rugoſum atque fami plenum.* Seſenna, in his ſixth book of Hiſtories, has this expreſſion: *Romanos inferendæ pernicii cauſa veniſſe.* Pacuvius, in his Paulus:

Pater ſupreme, noſtræ *progenii* patris.

Cn. Matius in his 21ſt Iliad:

Altera pars *acii* vitaſſent fluminis undas.

The ſame Matius, in his 23d book:

An maneat *ſpecii* ſimulachrum in muto ſilentum.

C. Gracchus *De legibus promulgatis*, ſays, *Ea luxurii cauſa* aiunt inſtitui. In the ſame book, in

This paſſage from Virgil is minutely imitated by Lucan:

Tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas,
Non uno plus æqua dies, noctique rependit
Lux minor hybernæ verni ſolatia damni.

another

another place, *Non eſt ea luxuries, quæ neceſſario parentur vitæ cauſa*; from which it appears, that he has made *luxurii* the genitive caſe from *luxuries*. Marcus Tullius alſo, in the oration where he defends Sex. Roſcius, has written *pernicii*. The words are theſe: *Quorum nihil* pernicii *cauſa divino conſilio, ſed vi ipſa et magnitudine rerum factum putamus.*

We muſt preſume, therefore, that Quadrigarius wrote either *facies* in the genitive caſe, or *facii*; but I certainly cannot find *facie* in any ancient book. But in the dative caſe, they who ſpoke with greateſt purity did not ſay *faciei*, which is now in uſe, but *facie*. Lucilius in his Satires ſays:

Primum *facie* quod honeſtatis accedit.

The ſame Lucilius in his ſeventh book:

Qui te diligat ætatis *facieque* tuæ ſe
Fautorem oſtendat, fore amicum polliceatur.

But there are nevertheleſs many who, in both caſes, uſe *facii*. But C. Cæſar, in his ſecond book on Analogy, thought it ſhould be written *hujus die* and *hujus ſpecie*. I myſelf alſo, in the Jugurtha of Salluſt, a book of great credit and reſpectable antiquity, find *die* in the genitive caſe. The words are theſe: *Vix decima parte* die *reliqua*. I cannot allow that the quibble is to be admitted, of underſtanding *die* as if it were *ex die* [4].

[4] *Ex die.*]—That is, ſuppoſing it to be an ablative caſe, governed by a prepoſition underſtood, rather than a particular mode of writing the genitive caſe.

CHAP. XV.

Of the ſpecies of controverſy which the Greeks call ἄπορος.

DURING the ſummer holidays [1], being deſirous to retire from the heat of the city, I accompanied Antonius Julianus the rhetorician, to Naples. There happened to be a young man of fortune, ſtudying and exerciſing himſelf with his preceptors, in order to plead cauſes at Rome, and accompliſh himſelf in Latin eloquence: this perſon entreated Julianus to hear him declaim. Julianus accordingly went to hear him, and I attended him. The young man appeared; and,

[1] *Summer holidays.*]—Rome, and what is uſually termed the Campagna of Rome, has always been deemed unhealthy in the hotter months of ſummer. For which reaſon the wealthier of the old Romans always at this ſeaſon retired to their country villas. For this purpoſe Naples was eſteemed the moſt agreeable retirement, though many Romans had country ſeats in Sicily.

The time of receſs from buſineſs in Rome, and particularly the buſineſs of the courts, was July and Auguſt. The ſame cuſtom of leaving Rome for Naples in ſummer, ſtill prevails; and is obſerved by all who travel from motives either of health or curioſity. The ſalubrity of the air of Naples has been a theme of admiration and praiſe among poets and deſcriptive writers, from the time of Auguſtus to the preſent period.

beginning

beginning an exordium with rather more arrogance and preſumption than became his years, he demanded the ſubject of controverſy[a] to be propoſed. There was with us a follower of Julianus, an ingenious and accompliſhed young man, who took offence that he ſhould dare, in the preſence of Julianus, to riſque his reputation by the extreme peril of inconſiderate ſpeaking. By way of trial, therefore, he propoſed a controverſy not

[a] *Controverſy.*]—Theſe declamatory exerciſes, the great and only excellence of which conſiſts in quirks and quibbles, incompatible with the dignity of genuine eloquence, fill a whole volume of the works of Seneca. The ſpecimen given in this chapter may perhaps be ſufficient to ſatisfy the reader; and it ſeems obvious enough, that the diſcuſſion of ſuch queſtions has an unavoidable tendency to pervert the public taſte, by ſubſtituting levity and impertinence in the place of real wit. Cicero and Quintilian have both of them reprobated, with becoming ſeverity, ſuch idle and uſeleſs diſputations; and the introduction to Petronius Arbiter, at the ſame time that it explains to how great a degree theſe vain declaimers abounded, ſatisfactorily proves that there were not wanting thoſe of more refined taſte, who deſpiſed and avoided them.

It appears, as well from this chapter as from various paſſages in the ancient writers, that the young nobility of Rome had preceptors to inſtruct them in declaiming on theſe controverſial queſtions. Of thoſe who attended the inſtructions of ſuch maſters, Petronius ſays, acutely enough, "Qui inter hæc nutricentur non magis ſapere poſſunt quam bene olere qui in culina habitant. Pace veſtra liceat dixiſſe primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis. Levibus enim atque inanibus ſonis ludibria quædam excitando effeciſtis, ut corpus orationis enervaretur et caderet."

very

very conſiſtent, which the Greeks call ἄπορος; but which in Latin may not very improperly be termed *inexplicabile.* The controverſy was this: "Suppoſe ſeven judges try a priſoner—that judgment is to prevail which the greater number ſhall determine—the ſeven judges preſided—two of them thought the priſoner ſhould be baniſhed; two of them that he ſhould be fined; the remaining three, that he ſhould be put to death. Puniſhment is demanded according to the deciſion of the three, from which the priſoner appeals."

The young man, as ſoon as he heard this, without at all conſidering the matter, or waiting to know what elſe was to be propoſed, began with wonderful rapidity to aſſert I know not what principles upon this queſtion, and to pour out expreſſions, diſtorted from their meaning, and a noiſy torrent of high-ſounding words. All his companions, who were accuſtomed to hear him, applauded him with noiſy clamour. Julianus all this while was in the greateſt perplexity, bluſhing with confuſion. After he had gabbled out many thouſands of ſentences, we took our leave. His friends and acquaintance following Julianus, deſired to know his opinion. "Do not," he replied, "enquire my opinion; *without controverſy*[3], this young man is eloquent."

[3] *Without controverſy.*]—It is not poſſible to transfuſe into our language the entire ſpirit of this pun. The young man had no opponent, but the nature of the controverſy required an opponent. The friends of the young man deſired to extort

tort ſome favourable expreſſion from Julianus, whoſe ambiguous anſwer implied, both that the declaimer had ſaid little to the purpoſe, and with nobody to make him any reply.

No praiſe attends the warrior who returns
To claim the palm of unconteſted fields.

CHAP. XVI.[1]

That Pliny the Elder, a man by no means unlearned, was not aware of that fallacy of argument, called by the Greeks αντιστρεφον.

PLINY the Elder was thought the moſt learned man of his time. He left ſome books, which he termed *Studioſi*, and which indeed are by no means to be deſpiſed. In theſe books he has introduced many things gratifying to the taſtes of learned men. He relates a number of ſentiments, which, in declamatory controverſies, he thinks urged with wit and ſubtlety.

[1] This is in fact the ſame ſubject continued. A ſimilar controverſy is agitated in a preceding chapter; where a pupil refuſes to pay his maſter for inſtructing him. Theſe controverſies were alſo called vindiciæ, from *vindico*, to claim. See Feſtus de verborum ſignificatione, at the word Vindiciæ. Vindiciæ appellantur res eæ de quibus controverſia eſt.

The loſt book, called Studioſi, is mentioned with reſpect by the Younger Pliny.

As

As this, for example, which he quotes from one of theſe controverſies. " A brave man is to have the reward which he ſolicits. One of this deſcription demands the wife of another perſon, and receives her. He alſo whoſe wife this had been, being entitled to the ſame claim as the former, demands his wife again; which is refuſed;"

The anſwer of this latter perſon demanding his wife to be given him again, is in his opinion very elegant and plauſible: " If the law is valid, reſtore her; if it is not valid, reſtore her." But Pliny did not know that this ſentiment, which to him appeared very acute, was liable to the defect which the Greeks term αντιστρεφον. It is a fallacy concealed under the falſe appearance of an argument. Nothing can be more eaſily applied to contradict itſelf; and it may be thus replied by the former perſon, " If the law is valid, I will not reſtore her; and if it be not valid, I will not reſtore her."

BOOK X.

CHAP. I.

Whether we ought to ſay tertiùm, *or* tertio *conſul? and how Cnæus Pompey, when he was about to enroll his honours in the theatre which he conſecrated, avoided, by the advice of Cicero, the doubtful uſage of that word.*

WHEN I was at Athens I ſent letters to an intimate friend at Rome, in which I reminded him that I had now written to him (*tertiùm*) a third time. He, in his anſwer, requeſted that I would explain to him the reaſon why I wrote *tertiùm* and not *tertiò*. He added a requeſt in the ſame letter, that I would give him my opinion, whether we ought to ſay, "Such an one was made conſul *tertiùm et quartum*, or *tertio et quartò*." For he had heard a learned man at Rome uſe the latter term, and not the former[1]. Moreover,

[1] *The former.*] Mr. Boſwell, in his Life of Dr. Johnſon, informs us, that his learned friend never uſed the phraſes 'the

Moreover, that Cælius[a] in the beginning of his book, and Quintus Claudius, in his eleventh chapter, had written, that Caius Marius was created conſul *(ſeptimò)* a ſeventh time." To this I replied only in the words of Marcus Varro (a man of more learning, in my opinion, than Cælius and Claudius united) by which words each ſubject he wrote to me upon, was determined. For Varro has clearly enough ſhewn what ought to be uſed; nor did I chooſe to be engaged at a diſtance in a diſpute with a perſon who had the reputation of being learned.

The words of Marcus Varro, in his fifth book of Rudiments, are theſe: "It is one thing to become prætor *quartò*, and another *quartùm*. *Quartò* marks the ſituation, *quartùm* the time. Ennius has therefore, with propriety, written,

"Quintus pater, *quartùm* fit conſul."

And Pompey, becauſe in the theatre he would not uſe either the term *tertiùm* or *tertiò*, has cau-

'the former,' and 'the latter,' from an idea that they frequently occaſioned obſcurity. They nevertheleſs are uſed by our beſt original writers; and perhaps in a tranſlation it would not only be difficult, but ſometimes impoſſible, to avoid them.

[a] *Cælius.*] Cælius Antipater, the hiſtorian; he wrote an account of the Punic war, and is mentioned by Cicero with reſpect; not, as Gronovius informs us, in the tract de Oratore, but in the 26th chapter of the Brutus, or de Claris Oratoribus. In this place Cicero commends his perſpicuity, calls him a good lawyer, and informs us that he inſtructed L. Craſſus.

tiouſly omitted the concluding letters. What Varro has briefly and obſcurely hinted at concerning Pompey, Tiro Tullius, the freedman of Cicero, in one of his letters, has more fully mentioned in this manner: "When Pompey," ſays he, "was about to conſecrate the temple of Victory, the entrance to which was to ſerve as a theatre [3], and to enroll in it, as in the theatre, his name and titles, it was a ſubject of debate, whether it ſhould be written conſul *tertiò* or *tertium*. Which Pompey, with anxious enquiry, referred to the moſt eminently learned men of the ſtate:

[3] *Serve as a theatre.*] This is at firſt ſight a perplexing paſſage; and it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to reconcile with the correct taſte and real magnificence of the Romans in the time of Pompey, the confounding a theatre and a temple in one edifice. The fact, however, undoubtedly was ſo; and Pompey, whatever were his motives, erected a temple, the aſcent to which formed the ſeats of a theatre, the area of which was probably ſo circumſtanced and encloſed, as to form one conſiſtent whole. The writers who mention this building, ſeem at variance one with another, ſome aſſerting that it was dedicated to the goddeſs Victory, others ſaying it was dedicated to Venus. The truth is, as may be eaſily collected from comparing what is ſaid by Dion with what Plutarch relates in his Life of Pompey, that it was dedicated to Venus Victrix. See Donatus de Urbe Roma, l. 3. p. 196.

This unuſual epithet of Victrix applied to Venus, is thus explained by Varro. Venus is ſo called, ſays he, non quod vincere velit, not from her wiſh to conquer, ſed quod vincire et vinciri ipſa velit, but becauſe ſhe wiſhes to bind others and be bound herſelf. See alſo Larcher ſur Venus, p. 91.

when they were of different opinions, and ſome propoſed *tertiùm*, others *tertiò*, Pompey requeſted of Cicero to give orders that it ſhould be written according to his opinion. But Cicero, fearing to ſit in judgment on men of approved learning, leſt, by cenſuring their opinions, he might be thought to cenſure the men themſelves, adviſed Pompey to uſe neither *tertiùm* nor *tertiò*, but to write it *tert.* concluding at the ſecond *t*; ſo that, though the word was incomplete, the fact was told, and the ambiguous uſage of a word avoided. But it is not now written in the ſame theatre, as Varro and Tiro have deſcribed; for ſome years after, when a part of it which had fallen down was repaired, the number of the third conſulate was not diſtinguiſhed as formerly by the firſt letters *t, e, r, t*; but by three ſmall lines |||" In the 4th Origin of Marcus Cato, we are told, " The Carthaginians broke their treaty *(ſextùm)* a ſixth time; which word implies, that they had acted treacherouſly five times before, and now did ſo a ſixth time. The Greeks alſo, in diſtinguiſhing numbers of this ſort, ſay, τριτον και τεταρτον; which anſwers to the Latin *tertiùm* and *quartùm*.

CHAP. II.

What Ariſtotle has recorded of the number of children produced at one birth[1].

THE philoſopher Ariſtotle has recorded, that a woman in Egypt produced at one birth five children; the utmoſt limit, as he ſaid, of

For the following note I am indebted to a medical friend, of particular eminence and ſkill in his profeſſion.

There ſeems no reaſon, from the ſtructure of the human uterus, to limit the number of fœtuſes with which a woman may become pregnant. But we know from experience, that it is not very common to have more than one at a birth. Dr. Garthſhore, by comparing a number of regiſters, found the proportion of twins to be as one to eighty of ſingle children. When twins are produced, they are generally weakly, and reared with difficulty. Triplets are of much leſs frequent occurrence, not oftener perhaps than once in twenty thouſand births, and one or two of them commonly either born dead, or much more diminutive and weak than the third. Four children at a birth is ſo very rare, that there is no calculating the proportion, probably it does not happen oftener than once in four or five hundred thouſand births; a greater number is ſtill leſs frequent, and the chance of their being at the full time, or of their being all born alive, proportionably leſs; the uterus ſeeming ſcarce capable of ſuch a degree of diſtention as to permit more than two or three children to attain to maturity; whence it uſually happens, that one or two of the moſt vigorous and thriving children, by preſſing

of human parturition: nor was it ever known that more than that number were born together; and this number, ſays he, is very unuſual. But in the reign of Auguſtus, the hiſtorians of thoſe times relate, that a female ſervant of Cæſar Au-

preſſing upon the others, deſtroys them while very young and feeble. The inſtances therefore mentioned in this chapter are rare and uncommon. But we have ſome ſimilar examples in this country. In the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1736, there is an account of a woman in a milk-cellar in the Strand, who was delivered of three boys and one girl, but it is not ſaid whether they were living or dead. In the ſame repoſitory, there is an account of a woman in Somerſetſhire, who was delivered, in March 1739, of four ſons and one daughter, who were all chriſtened, and ſeemed healthy children. Among the writers of medical obſervations, inſtances of much more numerous births are frequent; but there is generally ſo much fable mixed with their accounts, that little credit can be given them. Ambroſe Parr, after quoting ſeveral ſtories of women who had been delivered of five, ſeven, twelve, and one of fifteen fœtuſes, ſays, "Lady Maldemeure, in the pariſh of Sceaux near Chamberry, was delivered of ſix children at one birth, one of which ſucceeds to the title of Maldemeure, and is ſtill living." As this account was publiſhed in the country where the family reſided, and in the life-time of the young lord, it may, I ſhould ſuppoſe, be depended upon as a fact. Dr. Garthſhore received an account from Mr. Hull, ſurgeon at Blackbourne in Lancaſhire, of a woman who miſcarried of five children, in April 1786, in the fifth month of her pregnancy; two of them only were born alive. They were ſent to the Royal Society; and are preſerved in the muſeum of the late Mr. John Hunter. The account, with ſome ingenious obſervations on the ſubject of numerous births, is publiſhed in the Tranſactions of the Society for that year.

guſtus, in the province of Laurentum, brought forth five children; that they lived a few days, and that the mother died not long after ſhe had been delivered; that a monument of the fact was erected by the command of Auguſtus in the Via* Laurentina; and that the number of children ſhe produced (which we have mentioned) was inſcribed upon it.

* The road leading to Laurentum.

CHAP. III.

An examination of certain celebrated paſſages, and a compariſon made between the orations of C. Gracchus, M. Cicero, and M. Cato.

CAIUS GRACCHUS is held to have been a powerful and ſtrenuous orator. No one diſputes it. But how is it to be borne, that in the eyes of ſome he appears more dignified, more ſpirited, more copious than Marcus Tullius [1]? Now I was reading lately a ſpeech of Gracchus upon the promulgation of laws, in which, with all the indignation he is maſter of, he complains that Marcus Marius, and other perſons of diſtinction from the municipal towns of Italy, were injuriouſly whipped with rods [2] by the magiſtrates of the

[1] *Than Marcus Tullius.*]—It is certain that Hortenſius was a very powerful rival to Cicero, and divided with him the palm of eloquence. This perhaps is the only paſſage in any ancient writer which even ſuppoſes him to have had any other competitor. The parallel betwixt Demoſthenes and Cicero, as drawn by Plutarch, is known to every one.

[2] *With rods.*]—The perſon of a Roman citizen was in a manner ſacred; of which we have a remarkable example in the hiſtory of St. Paul. See Acts, chap. xxii. ver. 25.

"And as they bound him with thongs, Paul ſaid unto the centurion that ſtood by, Is it lawful for you to ſcourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?

the Roman people. His words upon this ſubject are theſe: "The conſul lately came to Theanum[1] Sidicinum; he ſaid his wife wiſhed to bathe in the men's bath. Marcus Marius confided it to the care of the quæſtor of Sidicinum, that they who were bathing ſhould be ſent away. The wife tells her huſband that the baths were not given up to her ſoon enough, nor were they ſufficiently clean. Immediately a poſt was fixed down in the market-place, and Marcus Marius, the moſt illuſtrious man of his city, was led to it; his garments were ſtripped off, and he was beaten with rods. When the inhabitants of Cales heard this, they paſſed a decree, that no one ſhould preſume to bathe when the Roman magiſtrates were there. At Ferentum alſo, our prætor, for a reaſon of the ſame ſort, ordered the quæſtors to be ſeized. One threw himſelf from the wall, the other was taken and ſcourged."—In a matter ſo atrocious, in ſo lamentable and diſtreſſing a proof of public injuſtice, what has he ſaid, either full or

" When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, ſaying, Take heed what thou doeſt, for this man is a Roman."

A particular law, called the Lex Porcia, ordained that no one ſhould ſcourge a Roman citizen. See Livy, l. x. c. 9. " Porcia tamen lex ſola pro tergo civium lata videtur: quod gravi pœna ſi quis verberaſſet necaſſetve civem Romanum ſanxit."

[1] *Theanum.*]—This place is now called Tiano, and is in the vicinity of Naples: its adjunct, Sidicinum, now, according to D'Anville, Sezza, was from the ancient inhabitants named Sedecini.

ſplendid,

ſplendid, or ſo as to excite tears or commiſeration? What has he ſpoken expreſſive of exuberant indignation, or in a ſpirit of ſolemn and ſtriking remonſtrance? There is indeed a brevity, and terſeneſs, and ornament in his ſpeech, ſuch as we uſually find in the elegant wit of the ſtage. In another place, likewiſe, Gracchus ſpeaks thus: "One example I will ſhew you of the licentiouſneſs and intemperance of our young men. Within theſe few years a young man was ſent from Aſia as an ambaſſador, who had not yet been in any magiſterial office. He was carried upon a litter, when a herdſman from the peaſantry of Venuſium met him, and, not knowing what they were carrying, aſked in joke whether they were bearing a dead body[4]? Having heard this, he ordered the litter to be ſet down, and the man to be beaten with the ropes[5] by which the

[4] *Bearing a dead body.*]—The original ſays, Is in lectica ferebatur. It was the office of the ſlaves, who were denominated Servi Lecticarii, to carry out the dead at funerals.

[5] *With ropes.*]—Struppis. This was an arbitrary and tyrannical abuſe; but the ancient Romans certainly treated their own proper ſlaves with a cruelty which nothing could poſſibly excuſe or juſtify. Their power over them extended even to life and death; it was not till the time of Conſtantine that this barbarous privilege was taken from maſters. See Gibbon, vol. i. p. 65. "The progreſs of manners was accelerated by the virtue or policy of the emperors, and by the edicts of Hadrian and the Antonines, the protection of the laws was extended to the moſt abject part of mankind. The juriſdiction

the litter was faſtened, till he died."—Now this ſpeech of his, upon ſo violent and cruel an outrage, differs nothing at all from the ſtyle of common converſation. But when, in a ſimilar cauſe, in which Marcus Tullius was engaged, ſome innocent Roman citizens are ſcourged with rods, contrary to law, or put to death, what then is his mode of exciting pity? what is his ſympathy? what is his ſtrong repreſentation of the fact before our eyes? how does the current of his indignation and bitterneſs rage and ſwell? Truly when I read theſe things in Cicero, a certain image of him, the very ſound of his words, his invocations, his lamentations, take poſſeſſion of my ſoul—as, for inſtance, where he ſays of Verres, what (all I recollect at preſent) I have put down as my memory ſupplied: "He himſelf, raging with vice and fury, came into the forum; his eyes glared, and cruelty might be traced in every feature of his countenance. All looked with expectation, to ſee what act of villainy he would perpetrate; when on a ſudden he orders a man to be brought out, to be ſtripped naked, in the middle of the forum, to be tied up, and the rods to be prepared." By Hercules, theſe words alone—"to be brought out, to be ſtripped, and

diction of life and death over the ſlaves, a power long exerciſed, and often abuſed, was taken out of private hands, and reſerved to the magiſtrates alone."

The original is *ſtruppis*, but it ought to be *ſtuppis*, from the Greek στυππιον, which ſignifies hemp.

tied

tied up," are of ſuch terror-ſtriking and horrible import, that you ſeem not merely to hear what was done, related, but abſolutely to ſee it perpetrated. But our Gracchus, not in the ſpirit of one lamenting and complaining, but like a common retailer of a ſtory, is content with ſaying, "A poſt was fixed [6] down in the market-place, his cloaths were ſtripped off, he was beaten with rods." But how glorioufly does Marcus Cicero ſpeak, when in the full repreſentation of a fact, he ſays, not "a Roman citizen was ſcourged," but "a Roman citizen was in the act of being ſcourged with rods in the middle of the forum at Meſſana [7], when, amidſt the anguiſh of his mind, and the repetition of the blows, not a groan eſcaped him, nor was a word obſerved to proceed from the wretched man, but theſe, 'I am a citizen of Rome.' By thus calling to mind his country, he truſted he might defy all their

[6] *Was fixed.*]—Palus deſtitutus, placed down. See alſo Tibullus, L. 1. E. 1. 11.

Nam veneror ſeu ſtipes habet *deſertus* in agris.

Where *deſertus* means planted down.

The form of the ſentence, when any one was to be ſcourged, was this:

I lictor colliga manus deliga ad palum.

[7] *Meſſana.*]—Meſſina, formerly called Zancle. It is too well known to be here deſcribed; but the reader will find a moſt agreeable account of its modern condition in Brydone's tour through Sicily and Malta.

ſtripes,

ſtripes, and protect his body from torture." Violently too, and with energy and ardour, does he excite compaſſion in the Roman citizens, and deteſtation againſt Verres, when he ſays, "Oh the beloved name of liberty! Oh that right of our city, ſo peculiarly excellent! Oh the Portian and Sempronian laws! Oh the tribunary authority, grievouſly wanted, and once allowed to the Roman people! Have they all then at length fallen to this, that in a Roman province, in a town of our allies, in the public forum, a Roman citizen ſhould be tied up, and ſcourged with rods, by him who, from the kindneſs of the Roman people, derived the enſigns of his authority? What! when flames, when hot irons, and other inſtruments of torture, were applied, though the bitter lamentations of the man, though his piteous tone of voice did not ſoften thee, wert thou unmoved alſo by the tears, by the repeated groans, of the Roman citizens who ſtood round?" Vehemently indeed, with ſolemnity, with copiouſneſs, and propriety, did Marcus Tullius compaſſionate theſe events. But if there be any one of ſo unpoliſhed, ſo barbarous an ear, that this ſplendour, this ſweetneſs of ſpeech, this harmonious poſition of words, gives him but little pleaſure; or if he prefers the former becauſe, being ſhort, without cultivation, and without labour, they poſſeſs a certain native grace, and becauſe there appears in them a

certain

certain ſhade and colour of dark[8] antiquity; let him examine, if he has any judgment, a ſpeech of Marcus Cato in a ſimilar cauſe, a man of remoter antiquity, to whoſe force and copiouſneſs Gracchus never aſpired. He will find, I think, that Cato was not content with the eloquence of his own time, but that he attempted to effect that which Cicero afterwards accompliſhed. For in that book which is entitled, "De Falſis Pugnis," he thus complained of Quintus Thermus,—he ſaid "that his proviſions had been ill taken care of by the decemviri; he ordered their garments to be ſtripped off, and themſelves to be beaten with rods. The Brutiani ſcourged the Decemviri, and the eyes of many men beheld the fact. Who can ſupport this inſult, this act of tyranny, this ſlavery? No king had dared to do this; and do you, who are men of honour, allow theſe things to be done towards honourable men, who are ſprung from honourable parents? Where are the bonds of ſociety? where the faith of our anceſtors? that you have dared to perpetrate theſe pointed injuries, tortures, blows, ſtripes, and pains, and butcheries, upon thoſe whom, to our diſgrace and inſult, your own countrymen beheld, with many others? But how great grief, how many groans, how many tears, how much

[8] *Dark antiquity.*]—For *opacæ vetuſtatis* ſome would here read *opicæ vetuſtatis*. See Miſcel. Obſerv. in Auctores Veteres et Recentes, Vol. IV. p. 437. That is rude or ruſtic antiquity, but the alteration ſeems of no material importance.

lamentation,

lamentation, have I heard! Slaves do not eaſily brook injuries; but what ſpirit do you think they poſſeſs, and ever while they live will poſſeſs, who are of illuſtrious deſcent, and diſtinguiſhed virtue?" When Cato ſaid the "Brutiani ſcourged them," leſt any one ſhould enquire concerning the Brutiani, this is the meaning of the paſſage: When Hannibal the Carthaginian was with his army in Italy, and had fought ſome battle againſt the Romans, the Brutii[9] were the firſt inhabitants of Italy who revolted to Hannibal. The Romans, offended at this, after Hannibal left Italy, and the Carthaginians were overthrown, called this people by the ignominious diſtinction of the Brutii, neither employing them as ſoldiers, nor conſidering them as allies, but they commanded them to obey and wait upon the magiſtrates who went into the provinces, and to ſerve them as ſlaves. They accordingly went about

[9] *Brutii.*]—When Hannibal invaded Italy, many of the Italian ſtates revolted from the Romans, and united themſelves with the Carthaginians. When Carthage was finally ſubdued, many of theſe ſtates returned to their allegiance to Rome, and many were ſubdued by arms. Theſe latter were treated with great ſeverity, and reduced almoſt to a ſtate of ſervitude, ſome of them, like the Gibeonites of old, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. The Bruttii, for example, were treated like their ſlaves, attendant upon ſtage performances, and called Lorarii. Theſe ſeem to have been perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to inflict puniſhment upon their fellow ſlaves. The act of ſeverity here mentioned was impoſed upon the Bruttii by Publius Sulpicius Galba, when dictator.

with

with the magiſtrates, like thoſe who in the play are called beadles, whoſe office was (when ordered) to bind people and ſcourge them. They who came from Brutium were called Bruttiani.

CHAP. IV.

That Publius Nigidius, with great ſophiſtry, taught that words were not arbitrary but natural.[1]

PUBLIUS NIGIDIUS, in his Grammatical Commentaries, ſhews that names and words are fixed, not by accidental application, but by a certain power and order of nature; a ſubject much celebrated in the diſſertations of philoſophers, amongſt whom it was a queſtion, "Whether words are from nature or application?" Upon this matter he uſes many arguments, to prove that they appear rather natural

[1] Muretus, in his firſt chapter, book xiii. of his Various Readings, laughs at Nigidius for theſe fanciful opinions. Nigidius, he ſuppoſes, borrowed them of Chryſippus; and he concludes his animadverſions in theſe words: "We could hardly believe that theſe chimerical things had been ſaid by ſuch eminent men, did we not learn from Varro, that it is not poſſible for a diſordered perſon to dream any thing ſo abſurd, which has not been ſeriouſly aſſerted by ſome philoſopher or other."

than

than arbitrary, amongſt which this ſeems ingenious and jocoſe: "When," ſays he, "we ſpeak the word *vos* (you), we uſe a certain motion of the mouth, agreeing with what the word itſelf expreſſes; we protrude by degrees the tips of our lips, and thruſt forward our breath and mind towards thoſe with whom we are engaged in converſation. On the other hand, when we ſay *nos* (we), we do not pronounce it with a broad and expanded blaſt of the voice, nor with projecting lips, but we reſtrain our breath and lips, as it were within ourſelves. This ſame rule takes place likewiſe in the words *tu* and *ego*, *tibi* and *mihi*. For as, when we conſent or diſagree, a certain motion of the head or the eyes correſponds with the nature of the thing expreſſed; ſo in the pronunciation of theſe words there is a certain natural manner and ſpirit. In Greek words too the ſame rule is in force which we fancy prevails in our own."

CHAP. V.

Whether avarus [1] *be a ſimple word, or, as it appears to P. Nigidius, a compound one.*

IN the twenty-ninth of his Commentaries Nigidius affirms, that the word *avarus* is not a ſimple but a compound word. That man (ſays he) is called *avarus* (covetous) who is *avidus æris* (fond of money); but in the union of the two words the letter *e* is worn away. So he ſays a man is called *locupletem* (rich) who holds *pleraque loca*, that is many poſſeſſions. What he ſays of *locuples* is more plauſible, and ſtronger; but as to the word *avarus*, there is doubt. For why may it not ſeem to be derived from the ſingle word *aveo* (to covet), and of the ſame formation as *amarus*, of which it can only be ſaid that it is not a compound word?

[1] Voſſius and others have ſuppoſed that *avarus* may be derived from *avidus auri*; and *locuples*, ſome are of opinion, is formed of *loculi pleni*.

CHAP. VI.

A fine was impoſed by the ædiles of the people [1] upon the daughter of Appius Cæcus, a woman of rank, for ſpeaking impertinently.

SO inviolable did the dignity of the Roman diſcipline deem it neceſſary to preſerve itſelf, that public puniſhment was inflicted not on crimes only, but even on diſreſpectful words; for the daughter of Appius Cæcus [2], going from the theatre, where ſhe had been a ſpectator of the games, was puſhed about by the multitude of people every where crowding in upon her. Endeavouring to extricate herſelf, ſhe complained that ſhe was ill: "And what," ſays ſhe, "muſt now have become of me, how much more cloſely ſhould I

[1] *Ædiles of the people.*]—The ædiles of the people are to be diſtinguiſhed from the curule ædiles. The firſt were elected from the Plebeians, as aſſiſtants to the tribunes, and to determine leſſer cauſes; the latter were elected from the Patricians. The ſame fact is related by Valerius Maximus, l. 8. De Judiciis Publicis, where other examples are enumerated of ſevere puniſhments inflicted capriciouſly for trifling offences.

[2] *Appius Cæcus.*]—This was the Appius from whom the Appian Way took its name, and he is alſo celebrated for adviſing the ſenate, on the invaſion of Italy by Pyrrhus, not to enter into any treaty of peace with the king till he ſhould firſt have evacuated the territories of the republic.

have

have been preſſed upon, if my brother Claudius had not loſt his fleet of ſhips in the ſea-fight, together with a vaſt number of citizens? Surely I ſhould then have been quite overwhelmed with the ſtill greater influx of people. Oh that he were alive again! that he might conduct another fleet into Sicily, and carry that multitude to deſtruction, which has now haraſſed me almoſt to death!" For theſe impudent and offenſive words, C. Fundanius, and Tib. Sempronius, ædiles of the people, impoſed upon her a fine of twenty-five thouſand ſolid pounds of braſs [3]. Capito Atteius, in his Commentary upon Public Deciſions, ſays, this was done in the firſt Punic war, in the conſulate of Fabius Licinius and Titus Acilius Craſſus.

[3] *Solid pounds of braſs.*]—*Æris gravis.* The moſt learned commentators differ about the meaning of this expreſſion. Servius explains it to be lumps of uncoined braſs. The ſtandard varied at different times, according to the abundance or ſcarcity of money; probably *æs grave* was uſed to mean the full ancient ſtandard. The fine impoſed on this occaſion amounted to about twenty-five pounds of our money.

CHAP. VII.

Marcus Varro, as I remember, writes, that of thoſe rivers which flow beyond the limits of the Roman empire, that of the firſt magnitude is the Nile, of the ſecond the Danube, and next the Rhone.

OF all thoſe rivers which flow within the confines of the Roman empire into the ſea, called by the Greeks την εισω θαλασσαν, it is agreed that the greateſt is the Nile[1]. Salluſt has affirmed

[1] *The Nile.*]—Every thing which relates to the magnitude and excellence of this river I took pains to collect, in my notes to the ſecond book of Herodotus, to which I beg leave to refer the reader. Ovid repreſents the Danube as equal to the Nile—

Innumerique alii quos inter maximus amnes
Cedere Danubius ſe tibi Nile negat.

Auſonius calls the Danube ſecond to the Nile—

——tibi Nile ſecundus
Danubius.

Arrian calls the Danube των ποταμων κατα την Ευρωπην μεγιστον. It is deſcribed at conſiderable length in the Melpomene of Herodotus. See my tranſlation of that work, Vol. II. p. 225. Its ancient name was Danau; ſee Bryant. Milton thus ſpeaks of the Rhine and the Danube—

A multitude

firmed that the Danube is the next in extent; but Varro, when he deſcanted upon that part of the world which is called Europe, places the Rhone amongſt the three firſt rivers in that quarter of the globe, by which he ſeems to conſider it as a rival of the Danube; for the Danube flows likewiſe in Europe.

> A multitude like which the populous North
> Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to paſs
> Rhene or the Danaw.

Spenſer alſo calls it the Danaw.

CHAP. VIII.

That amongſt the diſgraceful puniſhments[1] by which ſoldiers were reſtrained, was the letting of blood; and what was the apparent reaſon of this.

IT was formerly a military ſentence, to diſgrace a ſoldier by ordering a vein to be opened, and blood to be taken from him. The reaſon of which is no where mentioned, that I can find, in the old records. But I ſuppoſe it was firſt practiſed towards ſoldiers, who were ſcarcely in their ſenſes, and whoſe mind wandered from its uſual habit, that it appears to have been not ſo much a puniſhment as a medical application. Afterwards, however, the ſame remedy perhaps was habitually applied, for many and various offences, as if all who committed crimes were ſeemingly unſound in mind.

[1] *Puniſhments.*]—The account which Gellius gives of the motive of this ſingular puniſhment, will hardly be deemed ſatisfactory. I find the following opinion concerning it in the Various Readings of Muretus, l. xiii. p. 199—"Ego id factum puto, ut ſanguinem quem cum gloria fundere pro patria noluerant, eum cum ignominia amitterent." I think it was done that they might loſe that blood with ignominy, which they were unwilling to ſpill with glory for their country. An explanation which, to me, ſeems reaſonable enough.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

By what means and in what form the Roman army is uſually drawn up; and what are the names of their diviſions.

THERE are military terms[1] applied to an army drawn up in a certain manner, as the front, the reſerve, the wedge, the ring, the ſquadron, the ſheers, the ſaw, the wings, the towers; theſe and other terms you may find in our writers upon military topics. But they are taken from the things which are properly ſo called; and in the drawing up of an army the forms of thoſe things which each word expreſſes, are repreſented.

[1] *Military terms.*]—All theſe will be found, with their ſeveral explanations, in Vegetius, Frontinus, Polybius, and others, and particularly in Lipſius de Militia Romanâ.

CHAP. X.

Why the ancient Greeks and the Romans wore a ring upon the laſt finger but one of the left hand.

WE have been told that the ancient Greeks had a ring upon the laſt finger but one of the left hand. They ſay too that the Romans uſually wore their's in the ſame manner. Appion, in his books upon Ægypt, ſays, the reaſon of it is this, "That by diſſecting and laying open human bodies, as the cuſtom was in Ægypt, which the Greeks call anatomy, it was diſcovered

† *Wore a ring.*]—Much might be written on the ſubject of rings as worn by the ancients, and by the Romans in particular. They had their ſummer and their winter rings, their rings of dreſs and undreſs; ſome they wore only at home, others only abroad. It was the diſtinction of the gentleman from the ſlave, who, when made free, had a ring given him. Before they were free, ſlaves wore rings of iron. Ignorant people yet imagine that the wedding-ring is worn on the fourth finger of the left hand for the reaſon aſſigned in this chapter, namely, that from this finger there is ſome delicate nerve communicating with the heart. But this idea is properly expoſed by Brown, in his Vulgar Errors. The chapter is too long to tranſcribe, but the whole is curious and entertaining, and well deſerves the reader's attention. The ancients carried their ſuperſtitious prejudices with reſpect to this finger to ſo great a degree, that they mixed up their medicines with it.

that

that from that finger only, of which we have ſpoken, a very fine nerve proceeded, and paſſed quite to the heart; wherefore it does not ſeem without reaſon, that that finger ſhould particularly be honoured with ſuch an ornament, which ſeemed to be a continuation of, and as it were united with, the principle of the heart."

CHAP. XI.

The meaning and formation of the word maturè; *the common uſage of it improper.—Likewiſe that the word* præcox *makes, in the genitive caſe, not* præcoquis, *but* præcocis.[1]

ACCORDING to our preſent uſage of the word, *maturè* (maturely) ſignifies *properè* and *citò* (quickly, with expedition), contrary to the true meaning of the word. For *maturè* means one thing, and *properè* another. Publius Nigidius, a man of diſtinguiſhed eminence in all ſcientific purſuits, ſays, that *maturè* means neither too ſoon nor too late, but has a certain middle ſignification. Well and properly has Nigidius

[1] The ſubject of this chapter is diſcuſſed alſo by Macrobius, who indeed was no more than the echo of Gellius. See Satur. l. 3.

ſaid

ſaid this; for in corn and in fruits thoſe are ſaid to be mature, which are neither crude and unripe, nor mellow and falling, but grown and ripened in their full time; but becauſe that has been called maturely done, which has been done with attention, ſo the meaning of the word has been carried much farther, and a thing is now ſaid to be done maturely, becauſe it is done quickly, not becauſe it is done without indolence. Whereas thoſe things which are haſtened beyond moderation, may be more truely called immature. But Nigidius's middle ſignification of the word, Auguſtus moſt elegantly expreſſed in two Greek words[2], which he was accuſtomed to uſe in his converſation, and his letters, "Σπευδε βραδεως." By which he recommended, that to accompliſh any thing we ſhould uſe the promptneſs of diligence, with the delay of carefulneſs. From

[2] *Two Greek words.*]—The correſpondent phraſe in Latin is *feſtina lente*; concerning which proverb conſult Eraſmus, who has diſcuſſed it at conſiderable length, drawing a parallel betwixt the characters of Agamemnon, whoſe diſtinction was the *lente*, and that of Achilles, whoſe characteriſtic was *haſte*. We have many modern proverbs of ſimilar import.

The French ſay—"Qui trop ſe haſte en cheminant, en beau chemin ſe fourvoye ſouvent." "He that walks too haſtily, often ſtumbles in plain way."

The Italians ſay—"Preſto et bene non ſi conviene." "Haſtily and well do not come together."

Sir Amias Paulet uſed this expreſſion—"Tarry a little, that we may make an end the ſooner."

which

which two oppoſite qualifications ſprings *maturity*. Virgil alſo has very wiſely ſeparated (if one obſerves) the words *properare* and *maturare*, as having oppoſite meanings:—

Frigidus Agricolam ſi quando continet imber,
Multa, forent quæ mox cœlo *properanda* ſereno,
Maturare datur.

"Whenever the winter[3] rains confine the huſbandman at home, many things may be done at leiſure which afterwards, when the weather is fair, would be done in a hurry."

Moſt elegantly has he diſtinguiſhed between theſe two words; for in rural affairs, during rainy ſeaſons, the labour may be done at leiſure, which in fine weather muſt be done in haſte. But when any thing is to be expreſſed which is done in too hurrying and ſpeedy a manner, then it may be more properly called *prematurely* than *maturely* done. As Afranius[4], in his play called the Νομος, ſays,

Appetis dominatum demens *præmaturè* præcocem.

[3] *Whenever the winter.*]—I have uſed the interpretation of Martyn, Vol. II. p. 74.

[4] *Afranius.*]—The fragments of this comic poet are collected in the Corpus Poetarum of Mattaire. He lived about one hundred years before Chriſt. He is mentioned by Quintilian, who cenſures him for obſcenity. Fragments of his works are alſo found in H. Stevens's collection.

The

The fooliſh youth, with wiſhes *premature*,
Wou'd rule, ere yet his right to rule is ſure.

In which line it muſt be obſerved, he uſes *præcocem*, not *præcoquem*; for the nominative caſe is not *præcoquis* but *præcox*.

CHAP. XII.

Of certain marvellous tales which Pliny[1] the Elder moſt unjuſtly aſcribes to Democritus the philoſopher; likewiſe of the flying model of a pigeon.

PLINY the Elder relates, in the twenty-eighth chapter of his Natural Hiſtory, that there is a book of that moſt excellent philoſopher Democritus, upon the Power and Nature

[1] Some of the commentators remark, that Gellius never introduces the name of Pliny, but to cenſure him. In the preſent inſtance he has certainly cenſured him unjuſtly, for in his preface to the very book where the circumſtances here mentioned are recorded, Pliny does not ſcruple to call them mendacia Græcæ vanitatis. He adds alſo, that many accompliſhed men doubted whether this book, aſcribed to Democritus, were really written by him.

of

of the Cameleon[a], which he had read; and he hands down to us many fooliſh and intolerable abſurdities, as if written by Democritus, of which unwillingly, for they diſtreſs me, I remember theſe—That the hawk, which is the ſwifteſt of birds, if he happens to fly over the cameleon when lying upon the ground, is drawn down, and falls with a degree of force upon the earth, and becomes a ſpontaneous prey, to be torn in pieces by the other birds. There is likewiſe another ſtory paſt human belief—That if the head and neck of the cameleon be ſet on fire with the wood called oak, on a ſudden rain and thunder is produced; and that the ſame thing uſually happens, if the liver of that animal be burnt upon the top of a houſe. There is moreover another relation, but ſo very prepoſterous that I heſitated about retailing it; however, I have laid it down as a rule, that we ought to ſpeak what we think, of that fallacious ſeduction, by which men of the greateſt wiſdom, and particularly thoſe who are ambitious of inſtruction, are betrayed into by the power of admiration, even to their ruin. But

[a] *Cameleon.*]—Many ridiculous ſtories concerning this animal have obtained belief, even in modern times. A vulgar opinion yet prevails, that it ſubſiſts wholly by air. But this is proved to be falſe, by the concurring teſtimonies of the moſt accompliſhed naturaliſts, and is indeed evident from the very ſtructure of the animal. It has not only a tongue but teeth, both of which would be uſeleſs if air conſtituted its only nutriment: and the tongue is peculiarly conſtructed for the purpoſe of catching inſects.

I return

I return to Pliny:—"The left foot," ſays he, "of the cameleon is roaſted before a hot iron and a fire, with an herb called by the ſame name, cameleon: each is mixed up in an ointment, formed into a paſte, and thrown into a wooden veſſel; and he who carries that veſſel, though he be openly in the midſt of people, can be ſeen by no one." Such are the wonderful and deluſive tales written by Plinius Secundus. Nor can I think that worthy the name of Democritus, which the ſame Pliny, in his tenth book, aſſerts that Democritus wrote, namely, that by pronouncing certain words, and ſprinkling the blood of certain birds, a ſerpent was produced, which whoever accompliſhed could interpret the language and converſation of birds. Many ſtories of this ſort appear to have been given in the name of Democritus by ignorant men, who ſheltered themſelves under the rank and authority of Pliny.

But that which Archytas[3] the Pythagorean is related to have deviſed and accompliſhed, is not

[3] *Archytas.*]—Of the great ſkill of the ancients in mechanics we have various and ſufficient teſtimonies; and the name of Archimedes alone, as it is obſerved by Mr. Dutens, in his Enquiry into the Origin of the Diſcoveries attributed to the Moderns, would afford ſufficient matter for a volume.

Archytas lived at the ſame time with Plato, and his wooden pigeon has been celebrated by various writers. His life is given by Diogenes Laertius, who tells us that he was the friend and correſpondent of Plato.

The following is extracted from Middleton's celebrated Letters from Rome, p. 219.

"In

not leſs marvellous, though it appears leſs abſurd; for many men of eminence among the Greeks, and Favorinus the philoſopher, a moſt vigilant ſearcher into antiquity, have, in a moſt poſitive manner, aſſured us, that the model of a pigeon formed in wood by Archytas, was ſo contrived, as by a certain mechanical art and power to fly: ſo nicely was it balanced by weights, and put in motion by hidden and encloſed air. In a matter ſo very improbable we may be allowed to add the words of Favorinus himſelf: "Archytas of Tarentum, being both a philoſopher and ſkilled in mechanics, made a wooden pigeon, which had it ever ſettled would not have riſen again till now."

"In the cathedral church of Ravenna I ſaw, in Moſaic work, the pictures of thoſe archbiſhops of the place who, as all their hiſtorians affirm, were choſen for ſeveral ages ſucceſſively by the ſpecial deſignation of the Holy Ghoſt, who, in a full aſſembly of the clergy and people, uſed to deſcend viſibly on the perſon elect in the ſhape of a dove. If the fact of ſuch a deſcent be true, it will eaſily be accounted for by a paſſage in Aulus Gellius (whence the hint was probably taken) who tells us of Archytas the philoſopher and mathematician, that he formed a pigeon of wood ſo artificially, as to make it fly by the power of mechaniſm juſt as he directed it. And we find from Strada, that many tricks of this kind were actually contrived for the diverſion of Charles the Fifth, in his monaſtery, by one Turrianus, who made little birds fly out of the room and back again, by his great ſkill in machinery."

CHAP. XIII.

The reaſon why the ancients ſaid partim[1] hominum.

WE often uſe the phraſe "partim hominum venerunt," which means part of the men came, that is, ſome men. For the word *partim* is here an adverb, nor is it declined by caſes. Thus we may ſay, "cum partim hominum," that is, with ſome men, or with a certain portion of men. Marcus Cato has thus written, in his ſpeech upon the Florian affair: "There, like a woman of the town, ſhe ſtole from the entertainment to the couch, and with (*partim* illorum) different parties of them, acted in the ſame manner." Ignorant people, when they read "partim," ſuppoſed it declined like a noun, not ſpoken as an adverb. But Quintus Claudius, in the 21ſt of his Annals, has uſed this figure in rather a more ſingular manner: "Enim[2] cum *partim*

[1] *Partim* is in fact the accuſative caſe of the old nominative *partis*, the meaning is, "according to the part;" which terpretation will be found ſufficient wherever the word *partim* occurs. It is in fact a Græciſm.

[2] *Enim.*]—This ſentence is at any rate imperfect, and probably corrupt. As it could not poſſibly convey any idea to an Engliſh reader, I have merely inſerted the words in the text.

copiis *hominum* adoleſcentium placentem ſibi." He has likewiſe, in his 23d Annal, theſe words: "Sed id circo [3] me feciſſe quod utrum negligentia *partim* magiſtratuum, an avaritia, an calamitate populi Romani eveniſſe dicam, neſcio."

[3] *Sed id circo.*]—I was induced to act thus, being unable to ſay whether it happened from the negligence of part of the magiſtrates, or from avarice, or the calamity of the Roman people.

CHAP. XIV.

By what arrangement of words Cato said "Injuria[1] mihi factum itur."

I HEAR the phrases "*illi injuriam factum iri,*" and "*contumeliam dictum iri,*" spoken universally, and it is certain that this is a common mode of speech, examples are therefore unnecessary. But "*contumelia illi,*" or "*injuria factum itur,*" is somewhat more remote. We will produce an example: Marcus Cato, defending himself against Caius Cassius, says—"And thus it came to pass, O Romans, that in the insult which, by the insolence of this man, is about to be cast upon me (quæ mihi per hujusce petulantiam *factum itur*), I have cause also to compassionate the commonwealth." But as "*contumeliam factum iri*" signifies "to go to do an injury," that is, to endeavour that an injury be done, so "*contumelia factum iri,*" in the nominative case, means the same thing.

[1] *Injuria.*]—There is no great acuteness of criticism displayed in this chapter. The sentence, as it now stands, can never be considered as pure Latin. It is by no means improbable that originally it was written *injuriam*, which makes the construction natural and easy.

CHAP. XV.

On the ceremonies of the prieſt and prieſteſs of Jupiter, and ſome words cited from the prætor's edict, in which he declares he will not compel either the veſtal virgins or the prieſts of Jupiter to take an oath.[1]

NUMEROUS are the ceremonies impoſed upon the prieſt of Jupiter, and many are the circumſtances[2] concerning them, which are collected in the books upon the prieſthood, and which we read in the firſt book of Fabius Pictor[3]. Of which theſe are the principal articles we can bring to mind: Firſt, "The prieſt of Jupiter

[1] This chapter is in ſome places exceedingly perplexed, and doubtleſs corrupt. Many of the injunctions and prohibitions are, according to our conception, ſo contrary to all meaning and common ſenſe, that I found it altogether impoſſible to ſatisfy myſelf in my attempts to make them intelligible to the Engliſh reader. I have only to ſay that I have done my beſt.

[2] *Circumſtances.*]—What I have thus rendered appears, in various editions of Gellius, *caſtus*, *cautus*, and *caſus*.

[3] *Fabius Pictor.*]—This perſonage is celebrated by Livy as the moſt ancient of the Roman hiſtorians. He lived about 216 years before Chriſt, or 500 after the building of the city.

is forbidden to ride on horſeback[4]: he muſt not ſee the ſoldiers marſhalled without the city walls: ſeldom[5] therefore is the prieſt elected conſul, becauſe the conduct of the wars was uſually committed to the conſuls. It is never lawful for the prieſt to take an oath: he is not allowed to wear a ring unleſs it be hollow[6] and perforated: it is not lawful for a flame to be carried from the houſe of the prieſt, unleſs for the purpoſes of religion: if a perſon bound enters his houſe he muſt be unbound, the bonds muſt be taken through the gutter to the roof, and thence thrown into the road: he has no knot on his cap, or cincture, or in any part of his dreſs: if any one

[4] *On horſeback.*]—This is a prohibition not very eaſy to explain. It appears to have been thought neceſſary to pay the Flamen Dialis every mark of honour. To ride on horſeback was always deemed honourable; why then deny this character alone ſo great a convenience and comfort? The latent intention might be, to prevent his becoming too familiar by appearing frequently in public.

[5] *Seldom.*]—The Flamen Dialis had from his office a ſeat in the ſenate, a diſtinction which no other prieſt enjoyed. He might, therefore, if ſuch was his temper and propenſities, occaſionally interfere in political diſcuſſions; and by rendering himſelf an object of popular favour, might eventually be propoſed as a candidate, and elected to the firſt office in the ſtate.

[6] *Hollow.*]—As all rings are hollow, it is not eaſy to comprehend what is here intended. It may mean a ring without a gem or ſtone; or more probably a ring, the circle of which had holes ſtamped in it.

is going to be flogged, and falls ſuppliant[7] at his feet, he may not be puniſhed on that day: no one but a free man may ſhave the Dialis: he may not touch or even name a ſhe-goat[8], raw fleſh, or ivy, or a bean: he may not cut the long ſhoots of a vine: the foot of the bed in which he ſleeps muſt have a thin coat of clay: he muſt not ſleep from this bed three nights together; nor might any one ſleep in this bed, nor at the foot of it might there be a cheſt with any

[7] *Falls ſuppliant.*]—Dr. Ruſſel, in his entertaining Hiſtory of Aleppo, tells us, it is uſual for the Syriac chriſtians to fall proſtrate before their biſhop, an act of ſervile obſequiouſneſs, without example in any other period of the church. In the Eaſt, indeed, the moſt humble proſtration is practiſed from the vulgar towards the great, and the contagion probably, from time and circumſtance, has been allowed to pollute an inſtitution whoſe character is modeſty and ſimplicity, and which revolts at ſuch acts of humiliation from one frail being to another.

[8] *A ſhe-goat.*]—This abhorrence of a goat does not ſeem very complimentary to the prieſt's great patron, Jupiter. The god, it ſeems, was nurſed by a goat, to whoſe horn, *cornu* Amaltheæ, he gave what has been celebrated by numberleſs poets of ancient and modern times. The curious obſerver will find a remarkable reſemblance in the peculiarities enjoined to the Flamen Dialis, and the obſervancies which the Levitical law required of the high prieſt of the Jews. The high prieſt might not touch a body: he might not go into the open air when the anointing oil was upon him. See alſo the deſcription of the high prieſt's holy garments. There were many more peculiarities relating to the Flamen Dialis than are mentioned here. See in particular Plutarch's Roman Queſtions.

ſacred cakes: the cuttings of his nails and hair muſt be buried under a tree of the auſpicious kind[9]: with him, every day is holy[10]: he muſt not be in the air without his cap: it has not long been determined by the prieſts that he ſhould go without it in the houſe." Maſſurius Sabinus writes, that many of theſe peculiarities and ceremonious obſervances were remitted: "He might not touch any fermented meal: he did not put off his inner garment unleſs under cover, that he might not be naked in the air, that is in the eye of Jupiter: no one might take place of the Dialis at an entertainment, unleſs he who preſided at the ſacrifice[11]: if he loſt his wife, he loſt his office: his marriage could not be diſſolved but by death: he never enters a place of interment: he never

[9] *Auſpicious kind.*]—Many trees were deemed of the inauſpicious kind, ſuch were trees that bore no fruit; others were thought unlucky which bore fruit of a black kind.

[10] *Is holy.*]—The readings here are ſo various as to render the tranſlation of the paſſage extremely difficult. We find *fertatus, feſtatus, feriatus,* &c. &c. I have adopted the laſt. There were in every month *dies feriati,* but to the Flamen Dialis, as I have rendered the paſſage, every day was *dies feriatus.*

[11] *Who preſided at the ſacrifice.*]—Rex ſacrificatus. In the time of the kings it was deemed a good omen for the king to be preſent at the ſacrifices, and taking the auſpices. This therefore they thought neceſſary to continue in form after they became a republic. He therefore who preſided at the ſacrifice, on whatever occaſion it was offered, was termed Rex ſacrificatus or *ſacrorum.*

touches

touches a dead body, but might attend a funeral[12]. It is ſaid that the prieſteſſes of Jupiter, on their parts, obſerved nearly the ſame ceremonies. The garment of the prieſteſs was dyed: ſhe had ſome twig of an auſpicious tree twiſted round her hood[13]: ſhe might not go more than three ſteps up a ladder, unleſs of theſe which are called κλιμακες[14]: when ſhe went to the Argei[15] ſhe might neither

[12] *Might attend a funeral.*]—It ſeems a little remarkable that he ſhould be allowed to attend a funeral, when it is certain that there was always a kind of bellman or trumpeter, who went before at funerals, that the Flamen Dialis might keep out of the way. See Magius de Tintinnabulis.

"Erant et alii codonophori qui atrati funus præcedebant. Funeri autem adhiberi conſueviſſe arbitror, tum ut ad ſpectandam funebrem pompam homines accerſerentur, tum ut Flaminem Dialem admonerent funeris, ne ille ex improviſo funeri occurreret et funebribus tibiis auditis polluereturr."

[13] *Hood.*]—Rica. This word is of very unuſual occurrence. I find it thus explained in Terentius Varro: "Sic *rica* a ritu quod Romano ritu ſacrificium feminæ cum faciunt, capita velant."

[14] Κλιμακες.]—This is an obſcure paſſage, and to me at leaſt not perfectly intelligible. Κλιμαξ is a part of a waggon, (ſee Pollux in voce) and it is not improbable but it might mean ſome particular kind of ladder encloſed behind. The reaſon of this prohibition was, doubtleſs, to prevent any body ſeeing what they ought not. Falſter refers to the following paſſage in Exodus, ch. xx. ver. 26. Neither ſhalt thou go up by ſteps unto mine altar, that thy nakedneſs be not diſcovered thereon.

[15] *Argei.*]—There were places in Rome conſecrated by Numa, where ſacrifices were offered, called Argei. According to Varro, there were twenty-four of theſe.

comb her head nor dreſs her hair." I have ſubjoined the Prætor's ſtanding edict, concerning the Flamen Dialis and the prieſteſs of Veſta: "I will not compel the prieſteſs of Veſta, or the Flamen Dialis, in the whole of my juriſdiction, to take an oath." Theſe are the words of Varro, in his ſecond book of Divine Things, concerning the Flamen Dialis: "He alone has a white cap, either becauſe he is the greateſt in his profeſſion, or becauſe a white victim [16] ſhould be immolated to Jupiter."

[16] *White victim.*]—In all magic rites, and in particular to the infernal deities, black victims were ſacrificed, but to the celeſtial gods white victims were offered. It was neceſſary alſo, at leaſt on ſome occaſions, that the altar ſhould be white.

——Hoſte repulſo
Candida Piſtori ponitur ara Jovi.
OVID.

See the ſame author in another place,—

Alba Jovi grandior agna cadit.

We have alſo this expreſſion in Virgil, Georg. ii. ver. 146.

Hinc albi Clitumne greges et maxima taurus
Victima.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Certain hiſtorical errors which Julius Higinus points out in the ſixth book of Virgil.

HIGINUS cenſures Virgil, and thinks he would have corrected a paſſage in his ſixth book. Palinurus is in the ſhades below, requiring of Æneas that he would take care to find out his body, and give it burial. He ſpeaks thus—

Eripe[1] me his invicte malis: at tu mihi terram
Injice (namque potes) portuſque require Velinos.

For how, ſays he, could Palinurus be acquainted with, or mention the port of Velia? How could Æneas diſcover the place from that name; ſince the town of Velia, from which he has called the

[1] *Eripe.*]—Thus tranſlated by Dryden—

Redeem from this reproach my wand'ring ghoſt,
Or with your navy ſeek the Veline coaſt,
And in a peaceful grave my corpſe compoſe.

I do not know whether the reader will be ſatisfied with the vindication of this paſſage which occurs in Turnebus; ſee his Adverſar. 435. *Velinus*, ſays the critic, in this place means no more than *paluſtris*, it is the ſame therefore as if he had ſaid *require portum paluſtrem*. Virgil is certainly guilty of an anachroniſm.

harbour

harbour there the Velian, was founded in the province of Lucania, and ſo named when Servius Tullius reigned at Rome, more than ſix hundred years after Æneas came into Italy? For, he adds, they who were driven from Phocis by Harpalus[2], an officer of king Cyrus, built, ſome of them, Velia, and ſome of them Maſſilia. Moſt abſurdly therefore does he require that Æneas ſhould find out the harbour of Velia, when at that time ſuch a name was no where known. Nor ought that ſimilar miſtake to appear which occurs in the firſt book—

> Italiam[3] fato profugus Lavinaque venit
> Littora.

A like miſtake occurs in the ſixth book,

> Chalcidicaque levis tandem ſuperaſtitit arce.

Although to the poet himſelf it may ſometimes be allowed to relate by anticipation, in his own perſon, facts which he might know took place

[2] *Harpalus.*]—Ammianus Marcellinus, and Solinus, call this man Harpalus, but Herodotus, Pauſanias, and the older writers, write his name Harpagus. See an account of his exploits in Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 115, &c. in my tranſlation.

[3] *Italiam, &c.*]—This kind of anticipation is very frequent, and ſurely very allowable in poetry. A ſublime uſe of it is made by Milton, when Adam hears from the angel an account of his poſterity. All that Virgil remarks about Carthage is liable to the ſame objection, but no commentator that I know of has reprehended him for this.

afterwards. As Virgil knew of the city Lavinium, and the colony of Chalcis. But how could Palinurus know circumſtances that happened ſix hundred years after his time, unleſs one can imagine, that in the ſhades he had the power of divination, as indeed the ſouls of the deceaſed have? But if you underſtand it thus, though it is not thus expreſſed, yet how could Æneas, who had not the power of divining, find out the Veline port; the name of which, as we ſaid before, did not any where exiſt. He cenſures likewiſe another paſſage in the ſame book, and thinks Virgil would have corrected it, had not death prevented him: For, ſays he, when he had named Theſeus amongſt thoſe who had viſited the ſhades below and returned—

Quid Theſea[4]? magnum
Quid memorem Alciden? et mî genus ab Jove ſummo.

Afterwards,

[4] *Theſeus.*]—For Theſeus in this place ſome authors would read Tereus. The reader will not here forget, that preciſely as Virgil, in this book, conducts Æneas to the ſhades below, Ulyſſes, in the Odyſſey, is ſent there by Homer. Mention is made by Pauſanias of the deſcent of Theſeus to the regions below by Heſiod; but this work is not come down to us. The popular ſtory of Theſeus is too well known to have a place here.

Jortin ſpeaks thus of this paſſage, in his ſixth Diſſertation:—

Sedet æternumque ſedebit.

This

Afterwards, however, he adds,

Sedet, æternumque ſedebit,
Infelix Theſeus.

But how could it happen that he ſhould for ever remain in the ſhades, whom before he mentions with thoſe who had gone down thither and returned again, particularly when the ſtory of Theſeus ſays, that Hercules tore him from the rock, and dragged him into light? He ſays too this Virgil falls into a miſtake in theſe verſes:

Eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniaſque Mycenas,
Ipſumque Æaciden genus armipotentis Achilli,
Ultus avos Trojæ, templa et temperata Minervæ.

He Argos ſhall o'erturn, Mycene's walls,
And of Achilles' race Æacides,
Troy's fall avenging, and Minerva's ſhrines.

He has confounded, ſays he, different perſons and times, for the battle with the Achæans and Pyr-

This alone will not perhaps fully prove the eternity of puniſhments; for both the word *æternus* itſelf is ſometimes of a lax ſignification, as every learned man knows, and *ſedet æternumque ſedebit* may mean, 'there he ſits, and there he will ſit always,' namely as long as he remains in Tartarus. If this interpretation be admitted, the objection in this chapter falls to the ground.

rhus

rhus neither happened at the ſame time, nor between the ſame perſons. For Pyrrhus, whom he calls the deſcendant of Æacus, paſſing over from Epirus into Italy, engaged with the Romans when Marcus Curius was their leader. But the Argive, that is, the Achæan war, was carried on many years after by Lucius Mummius, imperator. The middle verſe therefore, ſays he, may be omitted, which very unſeaſonably treats of Pyrrhus; and which Virgil, without a doubt, intended to have left out.

CHAP. XVII.[1]

For what reaſon, and in what manner, the philoſopher Democritus deprived himſelf of his eye-ſight; and the pure and elegant verſes of Laberius upon that ſubject.

IT is told, in the records of Grecian hiſtory, that the philoſopher Democritus, a man to be reverenced beyond all others, and of high authority, ſpontaneouſly deprived himſelf of ſight, becauſe he thought his contemplations and the exerciſes of his mind would be more exact in examining the laws of nature, if he ſhould free them from

[1] The circumſtance related in this chapter, moſt incredible in itſelf, is poſitively denied by Plutarch, and doubted by Cicero. Neither is it mentioned by Laertius or Heſychius, but alluſions to it are to be found in a multitude of writers. It is generally aſſerted and believed, that the privation of any one ſenſe will neceſſarily make the others more acute and perfect. The beautiful apoſtrophe of Milton will here occur to moſt of my readers,—

> Wiſdom, at one entrance quite ſhut out,
> So much the rather, thou celeſtial light,
> Shine inward, and the mind thro' all her powers
> Irradiate; there plant eyes, all miſt from thence
> Purge and diſperſe, that I may ſee and tell
> Of things inviſible to mortal ſight.

What

from the allurements of ſight, and the burthen of his eyes. The poet Laberius, in a play called the Rector, has deſcribed in ſome elegant and finiſhed verſes, this fact, and the manner in which, by an ingenious contrivance, he became blind. But he has feigned another inſtance of voluntary blindneſs, and has applied it not without elegance to his own purpoſe. The character which ſpeaks them in Laberius is that of a rich and covetous man, lamenting the exceſſive extravagance and diſſipation of his ſon. The verſes are theſe:

Democritus, Abdera's far-fam'd ſon,
Plac'd a bright mirror 'gainſt the ſtar of day,
That his fair ſight might periſh by the blaze;
And thus his eyes, extinguiſh'd by the ſun,
Might ne'er the wicked proſperous behold;
So do I wiſh the ſplendour of my gold,
My life's remoter limit to obſcure,
Rather than ſee my prodigal poſſeſs it.

What is here told of Democritus, and his voluntary blindneſs, bears ſome reſemblance to the idea of Gray, in the following bold and animated deſcription,—

Nor ſecond he who rode ſublime
Upon the ſeraph wings of extacy,
The ſecrets of th' abyſs to ſpy.
He paſs'd the flaming bounds of ſpace and time,
The living throne, the ſapphire blaze,
Where angels tremble while they gaze.
He ſaw—but blaſted with exceſs of light,
Clos'd his eyes in endleſs night.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Story of Artemiſia[1], *and of the games inſtituted by her in memory of Mauſolus, wherein celebrated writers contended.*

ARTEMISIA is related to have loved her huſband Mauſolus beyond all the ſtories of amorous affection, nay beyond the limits of human

[1] This ſtory of Artemiſia is ſufficiently familiar, and is to be found in a variety of places. The monument itſelf is deſcribed particularly by Pliny, Book xxxvi. chap. 5. See alſo the tract of Philo Byzantius, publiſhed at Rome by Leo Allatius, where every particular of this Mauſolus is collected. Conſult alſo Bayle, article Artemiſia. The lines of Propertius on the vanity of the proudeſt monuments of art, are elegant and appoſite—

Nam neque pyramidum ſumptus ad ſidera ducti,
Nec Jovis Elei cœlum imitata domus,
Nec mauſolei dives fortuna ſepulchri
Mortis ab extrema conditione vacant.

Nor can I forbear to add the following from Beattie's Miſtrel:—

Let vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and ſcutcheons of renown,
In the deep dungeon of ſome Gothic dome,
Where night and deſolation ever frown,
Mine be the breezy hill that ſkirts the down,
Where a green graſſy turf is all I crave,

With

man attachment. Mauſolus, according to Cicero, was king of Caria, or, as ſome Greek hiſtorians relate, he was the governor of a Grecian province, whom the Greeks call a ſatrap. When this Mauſolus died, and was entombed with a magnificent funeral, amidſt the tears and lamentations of his wife, Artemiſia, inflamed with grief and regret for the loſs of her huſband, had his bones and aſhes mixed with ſpices, and beaten to powder, ſhe then infuſed them into water, and drank them off; and is ſaid to have exhibited many other proofs of her violent love. She erected likewiſe, at a vaſt expence of labour, for the ſake of preſerving the memory of her huſband, that very celebrated monument, which has been thought worthy to be admitted among the ſeven wonders of the world. When Artemiſia conſecrated this monument to the manes of her huſband, ſhe inſtituted likewiſe a literary conteſt in his honour, and appointed pecuniary rewards, and moſt munificent preſents of other things. To the celebration of theſe praiſes, men are ſaid to have come, of illuſtrious talents, and diſtinguiſhed oratory, Theo-

With here and there a violet beſtrown,
Faſt by a brook, or fountain's murmuring wave,
And many an evening ſun ſhine ſweetly on my grave.

The appellation of Mauſoleum has, as Bayle obſerves, been given ever ſince to all magnificent ſtructures of this kind.

pompus [2], Theodectes [3] of Naucratis. There are alſo who have related, that Iſocrates himſelf contended with them. But Theopompus was pronounced the victor in that conteſt. He was the pupil of Iſocrates. The tragedy of Theodectes, which is entitled Mauſolus, is now extant; in which, according to the examples cited by Higinus, Theodectes pleaſes more than in his proſe works.

[2] *Theopompus.*]—He lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was eminent as an hiſtorian. He is mentioned by many writers with reſpect.

[3] *Theodectes.*]—A difficulty here occurs of no great importance, but which has much perplexed and divided the commentators. The doubt is, whether a third eminent perſon is not to be added as a competitor at theſe games, and named Naucrites. The reader will adopt or reject my interpretation, as he thinks proper.

It may not be improper to add, as a concluſion to this chapter, that a ſtory is told in Boccace, of a huſband who obliged his wife to eat the heart of her gallant, whom he had put to death. The lady, when ſhe was acquainted with what ſhe had done, exclaimed, that it ſhould not be ſaid ſhe ever took any food after ſo noble a repaſt; ſhe then threw herſelf out of a high window, and was daſhed to pieces. The huſband relented, and buried the bodies of the lovers in the ſame grave.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

That a crime is not done away or leſſened by the defence which ſome offenders ſet up, namely a ſimilarity of crimes in others; and a paſſage upon that ſubject from an oration of Demoſthenes. [1]

THE philoſopher Taurus reproved a certain young man with ſevere and vehement cenſure, becauſe he had quitted his attendance upon

[1] Obvious as the folly muſt be of juſtifying our own indiſcretions from the contagion and frequency of example, it is but too true, that the cuſtom is, and perhaps always will be, prevalent in every age and country. The reproof, however of Taurus in this chapter may fairly be diſputed as to its wiſdom and its juſtice. The ſtudy of rhetoric and eloquence, as purſued in his time, appeared to have regard only to the external accompliſhments and fleeting reputation of the individual. The ſtudy of philoſophy, imperfect as it was, comprehended ſomewhat better, and by inculcating the neceſſity of at leaſt ſome ſyſtem of morals, neceſſarily had an influence on the good and happineſs of ſociety. Yet what Mr. Cowper obſerves on this ſubject, after all that can be favourably urged concerning it, is as juſt as it is forcible:

——Their anſwers vague
And all at random, fabulous and dark,
Left them as dark themſelves. Their rules of life,
Defective and unſanction'd, prov'd too weak
To bind the roving appetite, and lead
Blind nature to a God not yet reveal'd.

the rhetoricians and the ſchool of eloquence, for the ſtudy of philoſophy, which he ſaid was a tranſgreſſion diſingenuous and diſgraceful. The young man did not attempt to deny the fact, but defended himſelf, by alledging that it was frequently done, and deprecated the baſeneſs of the fault, by the citation of examples, and the excuſe of cuſtom. But Taurus, ſtill more irritated by this kind of defence, "Fooliſh and contemptible man!" ſays he, "if the authority and laws of philoſophy do not withdraw you from the effect of bad examples, yet does not that ſentence of Demoſthenes occur to you? which, as it is put together in a poliſhed and elegant arrangement of words, might be more eaſily impreſſed upon your memory, as a ſort of rhetorical tale: If I do not forget, what indeed I read in earlier youth—theſe are the words of Demoſthenes, addreſſed to one who (like yourſelf) endeavoured to blot out and excuſe his own crime by the crimes of others. —Do not[2] ſay that this is often done, but that it ought

[2] *Do not, &c.*]—Theſe words occur at the beginning of the oration againſt Androcion. This is one of the moſt vigorous and animated of all the orations of Demoſthenes, and this paſſage in particular is highly extolled by Quintilian: "Optimum autem videtur enthymematis genus, cum propoſito diſſimili vel contrario ratio ſubjungitur, quale eſt Demoſthenis, &c." That it may be more intelligible to the reader, he ſhould be informed, that Androcion had, in the aſſembly of the people at Athens, propoſed a decree, which was in oppoſition to many eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and obnoxious to certain

ought to be done; for if any thing be done contrary to the laws, and you follow the example, is it right that you ſhould eſcape the puniſhment of the law? on the contrary, you ought to be more ſeverely puniſhed; for, if any one of them had ſuffered puniſhment, you would not have propoſed theſe things; ſo if you are now puniſhed, no one in future will propoſe them." Thus did Taurus, by every mode of perſuaſion and advice, incline his followers to the habits of good and virtuous morals.

tain exiſting laws. But on being accuſed, he alledged, in his vindication, that he had the ſanction of example for what he had done.

Neither is it unworthy of remark, that Demoſthenes made this, and the celebrated oration againſt Timocrates, when he was no more than twenty-ſeven years old; and that Cicero made his oration in behalf of P. Quintius at twenty-ſix, and that for Sex. Roſcius at twenty-ſeven.

CHAP. XX.

The meaning of the words rogatio, lex, plebiſcitum, privilegium; *and wherein theſe words differ.* [1]

I HEAR enquiry made as to the meaning of the words *lex*, *plebiſcitum*, *rogatio*, and *privilegium*. Atteius Capito, a man particularly ſkilled in

[1] The terms *lex* and *plebiſcitum*, which occur in this chapter, are ſo perſpicuouſly explained by Bever, in his Hiſtory of the Legal Polity of the Roman State, that I cannot fulfil my duty to the reader more effectually than by tranſcribing the paſſage.

When the Roman ſtate increaſed in numbers and territory, freſh matters aroſe, which required new laws; all which are reducible to the following ſpecies:

"Such as were paſſed at the inſtance of a ſenatorial magiſtrate, by the whole of the aggregate body of the people, ſenators and Patricians, as well as Plebeians, in whom alone the majeſty of the ſtate reſided—a law thus enacted was called "*Lex*" in its ſtrict and proper ſenſe.

"The ſecond ſpecies of occaſional written law was called "*plebiſcitum*," which was enacted by the Plebeian body alone, at the "*rogation*" of one of their own magiſtrates. The *Plebiſcita* were originally made in the "*comitia tributa*," at the inſtance of the tribunes, and were partial laws, binding the Plebeians only."

Thus far Bever. As to the term *privilegium*, it in a manner explains itſelf: *privilegia* are private laws. Anciently it was uſed in a bad ſenſe, for a private law paſſed to puniſh an

in the knowledge of public and private rights, has thus defined the word *lex*: "*Lex* (law)" ſays he, "is the general decree of the people, or the commons, upon a queſtion propoſed by the magiſtrate." If this definition be juſt, neither the iſſue of the debate upon the command given to Cnæus Pompey, upon the return of Marcus Cicero, the murder of Clodius, nor any decrees of the like nature, can be called laws; for they are not general decrees, formed on account of the citizens as a body, but applied to particular individuals; wherefore they ought rather to be called *privileges*. For the ancients called thoſe *priva* which we call *ſingula*; which word Lucilius[a] has uſed in his firſt book of Satires,—

Abdomina Thynni
Advenientibus *priva* dabo cephaleaque a carne.

But Capito, in the ſame definition, ſeparates *(plebem)* the commonalty, from the people *(a populō)*; for in the term *people*, every part of the city, and all its ranks, are included. But that is called *plebs* (the commons), in which the Patrician citizens are not included. The *plebiſcitum*, therefore, is, according to Capito, that law, which the commonalty, not the people, admits. But the head,

an individual, without the form of trial. Afterwards *privilegia* were underſtood to be decrees of the emperors to puniſh or reward particular individuals, but they were not to be conſidered as precedents.

[a] *Lucilius.*]—So alſo has Horace. *Priva* mutantur in annos.

and origin, and as it were fountain, of the whole circumſtance and law, is in the *rogatio*, whether the appeal is to the people, or the commonalty, a law for individuals, or a law univerſally binding. For all the other words are underſtood and contained in the very fundamental principle and meaning of the *rogatio*. For unleſs an appeal be made to the people or the commons, no decree of the people or commons can be paſſed. But notwithſtanding this, in old records we find no great diſtinction made between theſe words; for they have given the term *leges* both to the *plebiſcita* and the *privilegia*, and have called them all by the perplexed and undiſtinguiſhing title of *rogationes*. Salluſt too, who is particularly obſervant of propriety in the uſe of words, has yielded to cuſtom, and called the *privilegium* which was paſſed upon the return of Cnæus Pompey, a law (*lex*). His words are in his ſecond hiſtory: "For Caius Herennius, tribune of the people, oppoſed the law which Sylla the conſul wiſhed to paſs for his return."

CHAP. XXI.

The reaſon why Marcus Cicero ſcrupulouſly avoided the uſe of the words noviſſimus *and* noviſſimè.

IT is clear that Marcus Cicero was unwilling to uſe many words which are now in frequent circulation, becauſe he did not approve of them; as for inſtance *noviſſimus* and *noviſſimè*. For while Marcus Cato, and Salluſt, and others of the ſame age, generally uſed the word, and many men of learning introduced it in their works, yet he ſeems to have abſtained from it, as if not properly a Latin word. Wherefore alſo L. Ælius Stilo [1], the moſt

[1] *L. Ælius Stilo.*]—The commentators are much at variance about this perſonage, ſome calling him Ælius Gallus, ſome reading Lilius Stilo, &c. There ſeems little reaſon to doubt but the perſon here meant is the Ælius Stilo mentioned ſo honourably by Cicero in his Brutus, where he is called *eruditiſſimus et Græcis literis et Latinis*; and it is avowed that Varro was moſt materially indebted to him.

With reſpect to the word *noviſſimus*, Gellius has in this chapter been guilty of an unaccountable miſtake, for Cicero has not only once but ſeveral times introduced the word *noviſſimus* in his works. See his oration for Roſcius: "Itaque per brevi tempore qui ne in *noviſſimis* quidem erat hiſtrionibus, ad primos pervenit comœdos."

See alſo in the tract De Oratore, "Nec in hac modo re quæ ad vulgi ſenſum ſpectent et ad aurium voluptatem quæ duo ſunt ad judicandum *noviſſima*."

The

moſt learned man of thoſe days, avoided the uſe of that word, as new and illegitimate. What M. Varro thought of the expreſſion is evident from his ſixth book upon the Latin tongue, addreſſed to Cicero; what was anciently *extremum* began to be commonly called *noviſſimum*. But as Ælius Gallus, ſo certain old men in my memory, avoided this as too new a word. With reſpect to its origin, as *vetuſtius* and *veterrimum* are derived from *vetus*, ſo *novius* and *noviſſimum* come from *novus*.

The expreſſion may alſo be found in Pliny, Tacitus, Seneca, Quintilian, and all the writers of beſt authority; but it is a little remarkable, that it does not appear in any index to Cicero which I have ſeen, not even in Erneſtus.

CHAP. XXII.

A paſſage cited from the book of Plato called Gorgias, on the abuſes of falſe philoſophy; in which he laſhes raſhly thoſe philoſophers who are ignorant of the benefits of true philoſophy. [1]

PLATO, a man moſt ſtudious of truth, and prompt to enforce it upon all occaſions, has ſpoken juſtly and openly (though from the mouth of no very grave or decorous character) all thoſe cenſures which may deſervedly be caſt upon ſuch ſluggiſh and idle people, as, ſheltered under the name of philoſophy, devote themſelves to unprofitable eaſe, and follow uſeleſs ſtudies and a mean courſe of life. For although Callicles, whom he makes his ſpeaker, is ignorant of true philoſophy, and heaps diſhonourable and degrading reproofs upon its profeſſors, yet what he ſays is to be received as a caution, that we may not in our own perſons deſerve ſuch reproofs, nor by

[1] I think, with H. Stevens, that the title of this chapter involves no little perplexity. Where is the temerity of pointing out to cenſure the impudent or idle pretenders to philoſophy? Or, as Stevens obſerves, "If it be an act of temerity, why is the paſſage here inſerted with ſo many and ſuch high encomiums."

idle

idle and fooliſh inactivity diſgrace the cultivation and purſuit of philoſophy. I have written down Plato's own words in his Gorgias, as I did not attempt to tranſlate them, becauſe no Latinity, much leſs any that I could ſupply [2], can emulate their force:

" Philoſophy, O Socrates, is indeed becoming, if a man in his youth purſues it with moderation; but if he waſtes his time too long upon it, it is a corruptor of men; for if he be naturally good, and follows philoſophy when paſt his youth, he is of courſe ignorant of thoſe things in which every one ſhould be verſed who aims to be a good and accompliſhed character. Such are ignorant of political ſcience, and of the language which is eſſential in ſociety, both in public and private concerns; neither is he acquainted with the pleaſures and deſires incident to men; nor, to ſay the whole at once, with manners. When, therefore, they are involved in any public or private buſineſs, they appear ridiculous. Juſt, indeed, as men engaged in civil life, if they ſhould

[2] *I could ſupply*]—Many will perhaps be of opinion that this excuſe would have come with much more propriety from myſelf. For if Gellius, a ſcholar and critic from profeſſion, deſpaired of doing juſtice to the Greek, with which he muſt have been, from ſtudy and long reſidence in the country, ſo familiarly acquainted, it argues no ſmall preſumption in me to undertake what he thus evaded. I have examined the original as carefully as I could, and done my part as well as I was able.

enter

enter into your ſchools and diſputations." What Euripides[3] ſays is pertinent:—

"That in which he is inferior, he avoids and diſlikes; the oppoſite to this he praiſes, thinking this a proof of his complacency." I think it beſt to excel in both. The purſuit of philoſophy, as an accompliſhment of youth, is becoming, nor is ſuch a ſtudy by any means diſhonourable for a young man. But when an older perſon perſiſts in ſuch a purſuit, it is indeed, Socrates, a ridiculous thing. I feel the ſame towards them who philoſophize as towards them who trifle and play; and when I ſee a young man in whom it is yet becoming, ſo trifling and playing, I am pleaſed; it ſeems to me graceful and liberal, and ſuitable to youthful age. If I hear a youth ſpeaking too readily, it is diſagreeable to me, and wounds my ears, and it ſeems to me as more proper for a ſlave. But if any one hears a man trifling, or ſees him playing, it ſeems ridiculous, unmanly, and worthy of ſtripes. Juſt ſo do I feel about thoſe who philoſophize. When I ſee philoſophy in a young man, I am pleaſed, it ſeems proper, and I think it the mark of ingenuouſneſs. He who does not ſtudy philoſophy, cannot be inge-

[3] *Euripides.*]—Theſe lines are among the fragments of the Antiope, and I have uſed the verſion of Mr. Wodhull. Every thing relating to theſe fragments is ſo amply diſcuſſed by Valcnaer, in his Diatribe in Euripidis perditorum dramatum reliquias, that it would be impertinent in me to do more than refer the reader to that learned and ingenious diſſertation.

nuous,

nuous, nor will he ever do any amiable or generous action. But when I ſee an older perſon ſo employed, and not about to deſiſt, ſuch a man, O Socrates! ſeems to me worthy of ſtripes: for as I now ſaid, it happens to ſuch a one, though naturally good, that he becomes unmanly, avoiding the buſineſs of the city and forum, in which the poet ſays men become moſt eminent. If he hide himſelf during life, whiſpering in a corner with three or four young men, he will never accompliſh any thing liberal, great, or becoming. But for you, O Socrates! I have friendſhip and reſpect; I riſk therefore that to happen to me with reſpect to you, which happened to Zetho with reſpect to Amphion, in the lines from Euripides juſt quoted; for I have been induced to ſay to you preciſely what he ſaid to his brother—that you neglect, Socrates, what moſt deſerves your care, and that you injure your excellent talents by attention to childiſh things; nor can you introduce any thing pertinent in the public courts, nor do you ſelect what is meritorious and becoming, nor can you give judicious counſel to others. Be not, my dear Socrates, offended with me, I will addreſs you with all mildneſs; does it not ſeem to be diſgraceful to you to be eſteemed, as I eſteem you and all others whom philoſophy allures? Now if any one ſhould ſeize you, or one like you, and throw you into priſon, ſaying you had committed a crime, although you really had not, you could not vindicate yourſelf, but

would

would heſitate and be perplexed, not knowing what to ſay: and being brought to trial, having a vile and profligate accuſer, you would ſuffer even death, if he ſhould ſo think proper. And is this wiſdom, O Socrates! if any purſuit, occupying a man naturally ingenuous, makes him worſe, ſo that he can neither help himſelf nor ſave himſelf, nor any one elſe, from the greateſt dangers, but muſt ſuffer every extremity from his enemies? He muſt live unhonoured by his citizens. Such a man, I almoſt bluſh to uſe the expreſſion, we may with impunity ſmite upon the cheek. Therefore, my friend, be perſuaded, and leave off theſe trifles. Purſue things more honourable, and from which you may appear to be really wiſe. Leave to others theſe empty things, or, as you may perhaps call them, inſanities, 'which make your houſes empty.' Imitate not them who follow theſe puerilities, but thoſe who really know how to live, who have glory and other good things.

Plato [4] has ſpoken theſe ſentiments from the mouth of one, as I ſaid before, of no great eſtimation,

[4] *Plato.*]—The following fragment of Epicrates, as preſerved in Athenæus, is a pertinent illuſtration of this paſſage. I copy the tranſlation from Mr. Cumberland's Obſerver:

A. I pray you, Sir,
What are your wiſe philoſophers engag'd in,
Your Plato, Menedemus, and Speuſippus?

What

mation, yet with the repute of common ſenſe and common underſtanding, and with an inclination to ſpeak the plain truth. For he does not deſcant upon that ſpecies of philoſophy, which is the teacher of all virtues; which ſtands foremoſt in the diſcharge of all public and private duties; which, if not prevented, regulates with firmneſs, fortitude, and wiſdom, the government of the ſtate. But he ſpeaks of that futile and childiſh attention to trifles, which conduces nothing to the guidance and regulation of life; in which people of that deſcription (whom the vulgar conſider as philoſophers, and whom he conſidered as ſuch who delivered theſe cenſures) grow old in idleneſs.

What mighty myſteries have they in projection?
What new diſcoveries may the world expect
From their profound reſearches?

B. Sir, you ſhall know—at our great feſtival
I was myſelf their hearer—I muſt ſpeak
Of things perchance ſurpaſſing your belief,
For ten moſt ſage academicians ſat
In ſolemn conſultation on a cabbage.

A. A cabbage! what did they diſcover there?

B. Oh Sir, your cabbage has its ſex and gender,
Its provinces, prerogatives, and ranks,
And, nicely handled, breeds as many queſtions
As it does maggots.

See alſo the Nubes of Ariſtophanes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

A paſſage from an oration of Marcus Cato, on the ancient mode of life, and manners of women. That the huſband had power to put his wife to death, if taken in adultery.

THE writers on the food and dreſs of the Romans, inform us, that the women of Rome and Latium lived abſtemiouſly; that is, they abſtained from wine [1], which in the old language was called *temetum*. It was appointed by law, that they ſhould kiſs their relations, that it might be diſcovered by their breath whether

[1] *From wine.*]—The Greeks, though they did not poſitively forbid their women the uſe of wine, puniſhed any exceſs of this kind with extreme ſeverity. The teſtimonies of the fact here mentioned occur perpetually in the old Roman writers. Their idea was, that the uſe of wine excited amorous propenſities. Pliny ſays, "Non licebat vinum fœminis Romanis bibere, invenimus inter exempla Egnatii Mezennii uxorem, quod vinum bibiſſet a dolio interfectam furte a marito, eumque cædis a Romulo abſolutum." Many ſimilar paſſages might be eaſily collected.

Plato, in his Republic, forbids young men to drink wine till they are eighteen years old; they were not to get drunk till they were forty; after that period, they were to do as they pleaſed.

they had been drinking. But they relate that the women were accuſtomed to drink the ſecond brewing, raiſin wine [2], ſweet myrrhine, and other palatable liquors of that ſort. And theſe things are publiſhed in the books I mentioned. But Marcus Cato ſays, that women were not only cenſured, but fined, if they had been drinking wine, with as much ſeverity as if they had committed adultery. I have put down the words

[2] *Raiſin wine.*]—Paſſus in the original. Columella has particularly deſcribed the making of this in his 12th book, chap. 39.—See Virg. Georg. ii. 53.

Et paſſo Pſythia utilior.

Arnobius, in his tract adverſus Gentes, reproaching the Romans for changing their manner of life, ſays,

" Matres familias veſtræ in atriis operantur domorum induſtrias teſtificantes ſuas? potionibus abſtinent vini?"

Bayle, at the article Lycurgus, tells us, that though there was no law in France to prohibit women the uſe of wine, in earlier times they were ſeldom known to drink any thing but water. A phyſician of Paris, who publiſhed a book in 1696, ſays, " Who would have thought that women would have added tobacco and brandy to ſo many other vices they have gloried in for above thirty years paſt? They carry, as yet, but runlets of brandy at their ſide: who knows but in time they will carry barrels?" Ovid recommends a chearful glaſs to the ladies:

Aptius eſt deceatque magis potare puellas
Cum Veneris puero non male Bacche facis.

It is certain however, that the Roman wives were not allowed to keep the key of the wine-cellar.—See Caſaubon ad Athenæum, 725.

from Marcus Cato's oration (de Dote) in which it is alſo ſaid, that huſbands had a right to kill their wives when taken in adultery[3]. "A huſband (ſays he) when he puts away his wife, judges his own cauſe as a cenſor, and has, it ſeems, entire controul in the matter. If ſhe has committed any perverſe or diſgraceful act, ſhe is fined: if ſhe has drank wine, or contaminated herſelf by intercourſe with another man, ſhe is condemned: but upon the right of putting her to death, it is thus expreſſed: If you ſhall have caught your wife in adultery, you may kill her without any legal proceſs; but ſhe (ſhould you be guilty of the crime) muſt not preſume to touch you with her finger; the law does not permit it."

[3] *In adultery.*]—The puniſhment of adultery has been different in various times and nations; but, as a people have become more luxurious and corrupt, this puniſhment has become progreſſively leſs ſevere, till it has not only paſſed without public cenſure, but appeared with unabaſhed effrontery in all ranks of ſociety.

Bayle, on the authority of Socrates Scholaſtius, mentions a puniſhment of adultery, ſo extremely prepoſterous, as to be reconciled to no principle of decency or common ſenſe.

CHAP. XXIV.

They who ſpoke with elegance, uſed the words, die priſtini, die craſtini, die quarti, die quinti, *not as they ſpeak them now* [1].

DIE *quarto* and *die quinto* (on the fourth and fifth day) which the Greeks expreſs by εις τεταρτην και εις πεμπτην, are words now in uſe among the learned, and he who ſpeaks otherwiſe, is deſpiſed as unpoliſhed and illiterate. But in Tully's time, and before that period, they did not, I think, uſe that phraſe. They ſaid *die quintè*, and *die quintî*, uſing it as a copulative adverb, the ſecond ſyllable being made ſhort. Auguſtus, who was well verſed in Latin, and an imitator of his father's elegance in converſation, has in that manner frequently diſtinguiſhed

[1] The ſubſtance of this chapter is to be found in the Saturnalia of Macrobius, l. i. The ſtyle of Auguſtus is ſpoken of by Suetonius in terms of great reſpect.

"Genus eloquendi ſecutus eſt elegans et temperatum: vitatis ſententiarum ineptiis, atque inconcinnitate et reconditorum verborum, ut ipſe loquebatur fantoribus. Præcipuamque curam duxit ſenſum animi quam apertiſſime exprimere." Gellius in another place praiſes the pure and ſimple ſtyle of Auguſtus; and ſo alſo do Tacitus and Quintil[illegible]

in

in his Epiſtles, the days he meant to point out. But it will be the means of ſhewing the uſual cuſtom of the ancients, if we put down the formal words of the prætor, in which, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, he proclaims the celebration of the feſtival called the Compitalia[2]. The words are theſe: "*Die noni* (nine days hence) the Compitalia will be holden in the aſſembly of the Roman people: when they ſhall have been begun, law buſineſs ceaſes." Here the prætor ſays, *die noni*, not *die nono*; and not only the prætor, but almoſt all antiquity ſpoke in the ſame manner. For I remember in Pomponianus, a verſe from the farce[3] which is called Mævia.

Dies hic ſextus, cum nihil egi, die
Quarte moriar fame.

[2] *Compitalia.*]—Theſe feſtivals were celebrated on the ſecond of May, to the Lares, in the public ways, at which time anciently boys were ſaid to have been ſacrificed.—See a long account of this feſtival in Macrobius, l. i. Sat. vi. 16. See alſo Ovid. Faſti. l. v.

Servat uterque domum domino quoque fidus uterque
Compita grata deo, compita grata cani,
Exagitant et Lar et turba Diania fures
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque canes.

[3] *Farce.*]—Atellana. Atellanus or Attellanus, was an epithet applied to a kind of farce which had its origin at Attellanæ, a place in Campania.—See Juvenal, Sat. vi. 71.

Urbicus exodio riſum movet Attellanæ
Geſtibus Autonoes.

Six days without a jot of work I've paſt,
Four more—and hungry I muſt breathe my laſt.

That paſſage in Cœlius likewiſe furniſhes an inſtance of it; in the ſecond book of his hiſtory—"If you chuſe to give me the cavalry, and follow me yourſelf with the army, I will take care that ſupper ſhall be prepared for you *(die quinti)* five days hence, in the capitol at Rome." But the ſtory itſelf, and the words of it, Cœlius has taken from Marcus Cato, where it is thus related: "Therefore the maſter of the horſe thus adviſed the dictator of the Carthaginians, Send the cavalry with me to Rome, and five days hence your ſupper ſhall be dreſſed in the capitol." But the laſt ſyllable of that compound, I find, terminated either by the letter *e* or *i*, which cuſtom of uſing them indifferently was frequent among the ancients, as in the words *præfeſcine* and *præfeſcini*, *proclivi* (downwards) and *proclivè*; and many others of the ſame nature, they uſed with various terminations. *Die priſtini* (the day before) was alſo applied, which ſignified *die priſtino*, or *die priore*, which we commonly expreſs by *pridie*, changing the order of the compound, and deriving it as it were from *priſtino die*. By a ſimilar proceſs, *die craſtini* (to-morrow) was uſed from *die craſtino*. So the prieſts of the Roman people, when they ſay, *in diem tertium* (for three days) expreſs themſelves by

die

die perendini; but as many people ſay, *die priſtini*, ſo Marcus Cato in his ſpeech againſt Furius, has ſaid, *die proximi* (next day). And Cnæus Matius, a very learned man, in his Mimiambi, has uſed *die quarto*, inſtead of what we call *nudius-quartus* (four days ago) in the following lines.

Nuper *die quarto* ut recordor, et certè
Aquarium urceum unicum domi fregit.

Four days ago—I have it in my book,
The only pitcher in my houſe he broke.

There only will remain this diſtinction, that we ſay *die quarto*, ſpeaking of time paſt; *die quarti*, or *die quartè*, of the future.

CHAP. XXV.

The names of certain weapons, darts, and ſwords; and the different ſorts of ſhips mentioned in the old books[1].

WHILE we are ſitting at eaſe in the carriage, in order to prevent one's mind from being poſſeſſed by other trifling matters, we may as well make ſome enquiry into the names of the weapons, darts, and ſwords, which are mentioned in the ancient books; as alſo into the different kinds and appellations of the ſhips. Thoſe which occur are as follows: the ſpear, the javelin, pikes, half-pikes, iron-crows, Gallic darts, the lance, ſpears, rumigeſtri, torches, barbed javelins, ſtaves, miſſile ſpears, flings, Thracian ſwords, the engine for flinging darts, ſcibones, broad-headed javelins, ſhort-ſwords, rapiers, daggers, hangers, ſpades, wedges, ponyards, ſmall ladders. Of the wedge (lingula) ſince the uſe of it is not very common, it is neceſſary to

[1] A long diſſertation, or indeed a book, might be written on the ſubject of this chapter. It will be ſufficient, perhaps, to refer the reader at once to Vegetius, and the other old military writers. The veſſels mentioned at the concluſion are all enumerated and explained in Potter's Grecian Antiquities.

obſerve,

obſerve, that the ancients ſo called an oblong ſmall ſword, made in the form of a tongue, of which Nævius makes mention in his Tragedy of Heſion. Theſe are his words:

" Sine mihi gerere morem videar, linguâ verum lingulâ."

And the long ſword (rhomphæa)[2] is a ſpecies of weapon belonging to the Thracian nation, and its name occurs in the twenty-fourth of the Annals of Ennius. All the names of ſhips we could call to mind are theſe; the gallies, merchantmen, ſtore-ſhips, long-veſſels, tranſports, long-prows, pinnaces, or as the Greeks call them, κελητες, barques, frigates, rowing-veſſels, light barges, which the Greeks call ἱστυοποι, or σπαιρίδες, ketches or ſpy-boats, or fiſhing ſmacks, cattæ, ſkiffs, ferry-boats, nuctuciæ, mediæ, yachts, galliots, long-galliots, ſcullers, capulices, fair-weather ſhips, the cidarum, lighters, cruizers.

[2] *Rhomphæa.*]—Many of theſe words are written differently in different editions of Gellius, as *rumpia* for rhumphæa, *ſibones* for ſcibones, &c.

CHAP. XXVI.

Salluſt was unwiſely cenſured by Aſinius Pollio, for ſaying tranſgreſſum *for* tranfretationem, *&c.*[1]

SALLUST has unjuſtly incurred the cenſure of Aſinius Pollio, in one of his letters addreſſed to Plancus, and indeed of others, becauſe in the firſt book of his hiſtory he has called the act of tranſporting, and carrying over the ſea, *tranſgreſſum*, and the perſons carried over, which in our uſual phraſe is *transfretaſſe*, he has called *tranſgreſſos*. Theſe are Salluſt's words: "Sertorius having left a ſmall guard in Mauritania, and taking the advantage of a dark night, was compelled, with a proſperous wind and great ſpeed, to avoid an engagement, by carrying his troops over the ſea." He afterwards

[1] The beginning of this chapter is different in different editions. H. Stephens has taken ſome pains to prove that it ſhould be read thus:—"Aſinio Pollioni in quadam epiſtola quam ad Plancum ſcripſit, et quibuſdam aliis C. Salluſtius iniquis dignum nota viſum eſt quod, &c."

As to the matter of the chapter itſelf, the reader has probably by this time diſcovered, that however agreeable the work of Gellius may be as a book of miſcellaneous entertainment, he certainly was himſelf no very acute critic. What he alledges here is reaſonable enough.

ſays,

ſays, "*Tranſgreſſos* omnis recipit mons receptus a Luſitanis." This (ſay they) is ſpoken improperly, and with the authority of no good author. For *tranſgreſſus* and *ingreſſus* are derived from *tranſgrediendo*, and that from *pedum gradu* (the ſtepping of the feet). Pollio therefore thought that *tranſgreſſus* was ill applied to thoſe who fly, or creep, or ſail, and that it ſuited only thoſe who walk, and meaſure the ground with their footſteps. Therefore they deny, that in any good author *tranſgreſſum* can be found, applied to ſhips, or uſed to ſignify the tranſporting of troops. But I aſk, why, as they properly ſay *curſus*[2] (the courſe) of a ſhip, they may not likewiſe ſay *tranſgreſſus*, more eſpecially when the narrowneſs of that arm of the ſea which flows between Spain and Africa is deſcribed by a word[3] moſt elegantly expreſſive, of paſſing over as it were the ſpace of a few ſteps. But let thoſe who want an authority for it, and affirm, that *ingredi* and *tranſgredi* are not applied to ſailing, tell wherein the word *ingredi* differs from *ambulare*, (to walk). But Marcus Cato, in his book upon

[2] *Curſus.*]—Both the Greek and Latin writers of the beſt authority uſed *currus* for a ſhip. See Catullus:

Volitantem per mare *currum.*

See alſo the expreſſion in Virgil, of ædificant naves. In Engliſh alſo, we uſe the ſeemingly inaccurate expreſſion, "I am ſhipwrecked in my fortune, for I am in misfortune."

[3] *Word.*]—Fretum, now called the Straights, or the Straights of Gibraltar.

Agriculture,

Agriculture, ſays, "That a farm is to be choſen in ſuch a ſituation, as to have a large town near it, and the ſea, or at leaſt a river where ſhips *(ambulant)* walk." Moreover, Lucretius bears teſtimony, that words taken from their literal ſenſe are ſometimes ornaments of ſpeech. For in his fourth book, he ſpeaks of the voice *(gradientem)* travelling through the arteries and the jaws. Which is ſomewhat more ſtrong than what Salluſt ſays of ſhips. Lucretius's[4] verſes are theſe:

> All ſound is body, for with painful force
> It moves the ſenſe, when with an eager courſe
> It ſcrapes the jaws, and makes the ſpeaker hoarſe.

Beſides, Salluſt in the ſame book not only calls thoſe who went in ſhips *progreſſus*, but alſo ſailing ſkiffs. His words, as applied to the ſkiffs, I have ſubjoined: "Some of them making but little way, from being overweighted and unequally loaded, while fear agitated the perſons in them, were ſunk."

[4] *Lucretius.*]—The reference in Gronovius is wrong. The paſſage is in book iv. l. 532. We have an expreſſion in Engliſh of a ſimilar kind—"The noiſe grates my ears."

CHAP. XXVII.

Account of the Roman and Carthaginian people.—They were rivals of nearly equal ſtrength [1].

IT is recorded in books of antiquity, that the ſtrength, the ſpirit, and the numbers of the Romans and Carthaginians were equal. Nor was this opinion without foundation. For with other nations the ſubject of diſpute was a ſingle ſtate; but, with the Carthaginians, it was for the empire of the world. A proof of this is exhibited in the ſpeech of each people, when Quintus Fabius, the Roman general, delivered a letter to the Carthaginians, in which it was declared, that the Roman people had ſent them a ſpear and a herald's ſtaff—two tokens, the one of war, the other of peace—that they might chooſe whichever they pleaſed, and underſtand that as particularly ſent them, which they might think proper to accept. The Carthaginians anſwered, that they would chooſe neither; that they who brought

[1] This ſubject is familiar to every ſchool-boy, and requires no elaborate diſcuſſion. The anecdote told in this chapter, is a memorable inſtance of national ſpirit, and is recorded by Livy, book xxviii. c. 8. and by Florus, book ii. c. 6, 7.

them

them might leave which they pleaſed, and they would conſider what the Romans left, as choſen by themſelves. Marcus Varro, however, ſays, not that a ſpear itſelf, or the ſtaff itſelf, were ſent, but two dice [2], upon one of which was engraven a ſtaff, on the other a ſpear.

[2] *Dice.*]—The teſſera was a ſmall tablet of wood, and uſed among the Romans for various purpoſes. It was the ſoldier's watch-ſignal; there was alſo (which ſeems here to be what is underſtood) the teſſera of hoſpitality: this was a tally cut in two, whereof each party kept one. See a curious tract de Teſſeris Hoſpitalitatis, by Thomaſinus. In the Medea of Euripides, Jaſon, when about to ſend Medea away, tells her he will give her a ſymbol or teſſera of recommendation to his friends.

Ως ετοιμος αφθονῳ δεναι χερι
Ξενοις τε πεμπειν συμβολ' οι δρασεσι σ'ενι.

Mr. Wodhull has not ſufficiently marked the force of this in his tranſlation.

For with a liberal hand am I inclin'd
My bounties to confer, and hence diſpatch
Such tokens as to hoſpitable kindneſs
Will recommend you.

To which Medea anſwers:

Ουτ' αν ξενοισι τοισι σοιο χρῃσαιμεθ' αν.

I will not uſe thoſe with whom you are connected by the ties of hoſpitality: that is, literally, Jaſon ſays, I will give you teſſeræ hoſpitalitis to my friends: No, ſays Medea, I will not take them, nor be indebted to your friends.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

On the diſtinctions of age—childhood, youth, and old age—taken from Tubero's hiſtory.

TUBERO, in his firſt book of hiſtory, has written, that Servius Tullius, king of Rome, when he divided the people into five claſſes [1], in order to number the young men, called thoſe who were under ſeventeen years of age boys; from their ſeventeenth year, when they were deemed proper for ſervice, he enrolled them ſoldiers; till forty-ſix, young men [2]; and be-

[1] *Five claſſes.*]—On this ſubject, of the claſſes into which the Roman people were divided, ſee Gellius again, l. vii. 13. The Romans were ſometimes ſaid to be divided into ſix claſſes; but the ſixth claſs was called capiti cenſi, that is, reckoned only by their numbers, and conſidered as having no property; ſo that the general eſtimation reckoned five claſſes only. See Arnobius, p. 91.

" Numquid enim quinque in claſſes habetis populum diſtributum, veſtri olim ut habuere majores.

[2] *Young men.*]—The expreſſion of juvenis or junior, among the Romans, was certainly indefinable, and meant no more than thoſe who were able to undergo a certain degree of labour or fatigue. Thus in our own language, it is certain, that in its primitive meaning yeoman ſignified a young man; and we know in how lax a ſenſe it is now underſtood.

yond

yond that time elders. I have noted this, that the diſtinctions which our forefathers obſerved, might be known, between childhood, youth, and old age, according to the eſtimate of that ſagacious king, Servius Tullius.

CHAP. XXIX.

That the particle atque *is not only conjunctive, but has likewiſe a diverſity of ſignifications.*

THE particle *atque* is called by the grammarians a copulative conjunction; and often indeed it unites and connects words. But ſometimes it has other powers, not ſufficiently obſerved, except by perſons engaged in the diligent and attentive examination of ancient learning. For it has the power of an adverb, when we ſay, "I acted otherwiſe *(atque)* than you." If it be repeated, it ſtrengthens and increaſes the ſignification; as we find in the Annals of Quintus Ennius, unleſs my memory fails in the citation of the verſe:

Atque atque accedit muros Romana juventus.

It was likewiſe uſed by the ancients for the word *deque*, which has an oppoſite ſignification, and moreover,

moreover for *ſtatim*, another adverb. As in theſe verſes of Virgil, where that particle is thought obſcure, and not properly introduced.

——Sic omnia fatis [1]
In pejus ruere ac retro ſublapſa referri
Non alitèr quam qui adverſo vix flumine lembùm
Remigiis ſubigit, ſi brachia forte remiſit.
Atque illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni.

[1] *Sic omnia fatis.*]—Theſe lines occur Georg. i. l. 199. Thus tranſlated by Dryden:

Thus all below, whether by nature's curſe
Or fate's decree, degenerate ſtill to worſe;
So the boat's brawny crew the current ſtem,
And ſlow advancing ſtruggle with the ſtream;
But if they ſlack their hands, or ceaſe to ſtrive,
Then down the flood with headlong haſte they drive.

Dryden here has overlooked the force of *atque*, which Martyn has not: he tranſlates the laſt line, "Immediately the tide drives him headlong down the river."

The expreſſion of "retro ſublapſa referri" is found alſo in the ſecond Æneid.

Ex illo fluere ac retro ſublapſa referri
Spes Danaum.

BOOK XI.

CHAP. I.

On the origin of the word Italy. *Of that fine which is called* ſuprema; *its meaning—the Aterian law —and in what terms the ſmalleſt fine uſed to be impoſed.*

TIMÆUS, in the Roman Hiſtory which he compoſed in Greek, and Varro in his Antiquities, agree in deriving Italy[1] from a Greek word, becauſe in the old Greek language oxen were called Ιταλοι, of which there were great numbers in Italy; and horned cattle in vaſt abundance were bred and paſtured in that country. Thence we may conjecture, that as Italy was ſo abundant in cattle[2], therefore the fine

[1] *Italy.*]—It is certain that Heſychius has Ιταλος in the ſenſe of an ox; yet Heyne agrees rather with thoſe who derive the name of the country from Italus, one of its kings, according to Iſidorus. Bochart's derivation of it from a Phœnician word ſignifying pitch, has not obtained much currency, nor does it ſeem to deſerve it.

[2] *Abundant in cattle.*]—Armentoſiſſima. The indefatiga-

fine was impoſed which is called *ſuprema*, of producing on particular days[3] two ſheep and thirty oxen; which was levied in that proportion from the plentiful breed of oxen, and the ſcarcity of ſheep. But when that ſort of fine which conſiſted of ſheep and oxen was impoſed by the magiſtrates, ſome of ſmall and ſome of greater values were produced, which made the payment of the penalty unequal. Wherefore, by the Aterian law, the value of the ſheep was fixed at ten pieces of braſs; that of the oxen at an hundred: but the ſmalleſt fine impoſed, is that of one ſheep; the greateſt, that of which we have ſpoken. Beyond which, it was not lawful to fix any fine to be paid for one offence; and therefore it is called *(ſuprema)* the laſt, that is, the chief and greateſt. When therefore this laſt fine is now impoſed, according to the manner of our anceſtors, by the Roman magiſtrates, it is uſually obſerved, that the word *oves*, ſheep, is

ble Barthius ſpeaks highly of the advantage of making a gloſſary of words uſed by each particular writer of any diſtinction. He himſelf, with reſpect to Gellius, has completed a gloſſary of peculiar words beginning with *a*. Armentoſiſſima is among theſe; and the reader will find them all in his Adverſaria, p. 397.

[3] *Particular days.*]—In ſingulos: it is ſometimes read 'in ſingulos dies,' but I am inclined to think both readings wrong, and wiſh to adopt what is propoſed by Hotomannus, in his uſeful tract de Re Nummariâ. He thinks it ſhould be read 'in res ſingulas,' which was a legal term for each offence.

uſed in the maſculine gender. So Marcus Varro has mentioned the legal terms by which the ſmalleſt fine was impoſed. "Since, though called upon by Marcus Terentius, he has neither anſwered, nor excuſed himſelf, I ſentence him to pay a fine of one ſheep." Unleſs this form was obſerved, the fine was not deemed legal. This word *multa*, Marcus Varro, in his 19th book of Antiquities, ſays is not a Latin but a Sabine word; and that in his memory, it was in uſe in the language of the Samnites, who came from the Sabines [4], But the upſtart tribe of grammarians have affirmed, that this word, like many others, is ſpoken (κατ' αντιφρασιν) by oppoſition.

But as our manner of ſpeaking, and that which many of the ancients made uſe of, is *multam dixit*, and *multa dicta eſt*, I have thought it not amiſs to take notice that Marcus Cato has ſpoken otherwiſe; for in his fourth book de Originibus, are theſe words: "Our general, if any one engages in battle, out of his rank, (*ei multam facit*) impoſes a fine upon him. But he may appear, for the ſake of elegance, to have avoided the word (*dicit*) ſince the fine was levied in the

[4] *From the Sabines.*]—See Strabo, book v. "The Sabines are the moſt ancient nation, and from theſe the Samnites derive their origin. The Samnites were by the Greeks called Σαυνιται." See Euſtathius ad Dionyſium, and Pliny.

camp

camp and the army, not proclaimed *(diceretur)* in the aſſembly, nor preſence of the people.

CHAP. II.

That the word elegance, *among the ancients, was not applied to thoſe diſtinguiſhed by their underſtanding, but to thoſe who were attentive to dreſs and luxury, and was conſidered as diſgraceful.*

A MAN formerly was not called elegant, as a term of commendation; but till the time of Marcus Cato, that word was a reproach, and not a compliment. This we may obſerve in other writers, as well as in that book of Cato, which is entitled, "Carmen de Moribus," wherein are theſe words: "They thought avarice included all vices; but the expenſive man, and who ever was thought ambitious, *elegant*, vicious, or fooliſh, he was commended." From which it is plain, a man was not called by the ancients *elegant*, with reference to his genius[1], but

[1] *To his genius.*]—We find that the term *elegans verborum* was applied by way of diſtinction to Salluſt, whilſt Terence was called *compoſitum atque elegans.* With us it is uſed invariably in a good ſenſe; but it does not ſeem to have been a favourite expreſſion with our older writers; I

but from a too frivolous attention to dreſs and outward appearance. Afterwards, it ceaſed to be a term of cenſure; but he was not thought worthy of commendation, whoſe elegance was not very moderate. So Marcus Tullius pays a compliment to Lucius Craſſus and Quintus Scævola, not for their elegance only, but their œconomy mixed with it. "Craſſus (ſays he) was the moſt œconomical of *elegant* men, and Scævola the moſt *elegant* of the œconomical." And in the ſame book of Cato, we find it here and there mentioned. "It was cuſtomary (ſays he) to be dreſſed handſomely in public, and plainly at home. They purchaſed horſes at a dearer rate than cooks. Poetry was in no eſteem[2]; and if any one addicted himſelf to the ſtudy

do not remember to have met with it in Shakſpeare, and I know but of one place where it occurs in Milton. Milton uſes it in its claſſical ſenſe of correctneſs—

> Eve, now I ſee thou art exact of taſte,
> And elegant.

[2] *In no eſteem.*]—The fate of poets ſeems to have been much the ſame in all ages—their productions honoured, and themſelves neglected. The maxim of Charles the IXth ſeems to have prevailed in every age: "Equi et poetæ alendi non ſaginandi." Though Otway, Chatterton, and ſome others, would have been glad if even this cold comfort had been granted them. It is certain, that in the time of the republic, poets were held in no eſtimation at Rome; they wandered from houſe to houſe, finging the praiſes of thoſe who would give them a dinner. When Fulvius

ſtudy of it, or frequented entertainments, he was called a glutton." And in the ſame book, is that celebrated ſentence of truth, "Human life is much like iron—if you uſe it, it is worn away, if you uſe it not, ruſt conſumes it. So we ſee men worn away by exerciſing themſelves, while ſluggiſhneſs and torpor, without exerciſe, is yet more detrimental."

Fulvius went on ſome expedition as conſul into Ætolia, he was abuſed for his effeminacy, in taking Ennius the poet in his ſuite. Plato, a very wiſe man, has in ſome part of his works, this remark: No one in his ſenſes will knock at the door of the Muſes.

CHAP. III.

Various uſages of the particle pro, *with examples.*[1]

WHEN I find leiſure from law cauſes, and buſineſs, and for the ſake of exerciſe I walk or ride, I am accuſtomed to turn over in my mind matters trifling and of ſmall conſequence, and which appear deſpicable to the unlearned, which however are neceſſary to the clear underſtanding of antiquity, and particularly to the knowledge of the Latin language. As it happened lately in the retirement of Prænesſte, walking by myſelf in the evening, I conſidered of the various uſages in the Latin language of certain particles, as for inſtance in the prepoſition *pro*. For at one time I obſerved they ſay, "that the prieſts have paſſed a decree *(pro collegio)* according to the power of their order;" at another, "a witneſs was brought in *(pro teſtimonio)* to give evidence." Marcus Cato one while writes, as in the fourth book of his Origins, that

[1] I believe it will be enough, if at this chapter I tranſlate the remark of Quintus Carolus:—"As for this chapter, reader, go to the dictionary-makers, who have curiouſly inveſtigated the ſignification of this particle, and no one can be ignorant of the elements.

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the battle was engaged in and fought *(pro caſtris)* before the camp: and in his fifth, that all the cities and iſlands were conſidered *(pro Illyrio)* as belonging to Illyricum. Sometimes they ſay *(pro æde Caſtoris)* for the temple of Caſtor: ſometimes *(pro roſtris)* before the roſtra, before the tribune's chair, before the aſſembly, and ſometimes that the tribune of the people interceded *(pro poteſtate)* by virtue of his authority. Now I thought that whoever imagined theſe words to be altogether like each other, or of equal efficacy, or yet differing from each other in every particular, falls into an error. For I was of opinion, that the variety of their ſignification was to be traced from the ſame origin and fountain, though not to the ſame end; which he will eaſily underſtand, who will conſider the matter attentively, and uſe himſelf to conſult our old books, and records of any celebrity.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

In what manner Ennius imitated Euripides.

THERE are ſome verſes in the Hecuba of Euripides, charming in their language, and remarkable for their conciſeneſs. Hecuba is ſpeaking to Ulyſſes:

Τοδ' αξιωμα κᾶν κακως λεγητο σον [1]
Πεισει λογος γαρ εκ τ' αδοξεντων ιων
Κἀκ των δοκεντων αυτος ᾱ τάυτον σθενει

Theſe lines Quintus Ennius, in his tranſlation of that tragedy, has very well imitated in an equal number of verſes.

Hæc tu, & ſi perversè doces, facilè Achivos flexeris,
Nam cum opulente [2] loquuntur pariter, atque ignobiles,
Eadem dicta eademque oratio æqua, non æquè valet.

Ennius,

[1] Theſe lines are thus tranſlated by Wodhull:
Although you weakly argue, with your rank
Convince them; for the ſelf-ſame ſpeech, when utter'd
By th' ignoble, and men well eſteemed,
Comes not with equal force.

For πεισει in the ſecond verſe, many would read νικα; the difference is not great.

[2] *Opulente.*]—Alciatus thinks that Ennius wrote *opinati*, which

Ennius, as I ſaid before, has well tranſlated the paſſage, though the word *ignobiles* but ill anſwers to αντι αδοξαντων, and *opulenti* to αντι δοκαντων. For neither are all who are ignoble diſeſteemed, nor are all who are rich eſteemed.

which the verſe requires as well as the ſenſe; in which caſe the cenſure of Gellius falls to the ground, for *opinati* means men in honour and eſtimation, and correſponds exactly with δοκαντων. Gellius himſelf has the expreſſion of *operatiſſimi auctores*, for authors of great eſtimation.

CHAP. V.

Certain things lightly touched upon concerning the Pyrrhonian philoſophers, and the Academics; with the difference between them.

THOSE whom we call Pyrrhonian[1] philoſophers, by a Greek ſurname are termed Sceptics, which ſignifies as it were enquirers, doubters;

[1] *Pyrrhonian.*]—Pyrrho, the founder of this ſect, if that can properly be called a ſect which rejected all principles, was born at Elea, of obſcure parents, and was bred originally to the profeſſion of a painter, but forſook that art for philoſophy. This he ſtudied firſt under Dryſo, ſon of Stilpo, then under Anaxarchus, with whom he went to India, in the

doubters; for they determine nothing, they fix nothing, but are always examining and conſidering the nature of that on which they might determine. And indeed they ſeem to themſelves not to ſee or to hear any thing clearly, but to undergo a certain affection like ſeeing and hearing: and upon thoſe very things which produce theſe affections, they are always deliberating and contemplating what ſort of things they are. And the confidence and veracity of all things is, they ſay, ſuch an incomprehenſible mixture of truth and falſehood, that every man who is not precipitate and raſh in his judgment, ſhould uſe the words which they report from Pyrrho, the founder of their ſect. " Has not

the army of Alexander. The ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho naturally enough aroſe from the atomic philoſophy of Democritus, which he ſtudied under Anaxarchus, and from the fallacies of logic, which he exerciſed under Dryſo. The accounts of his expoſing his life to danger continually, by walking ſtraight forward in ſpite of all obſtacles, as not believing that any thing he ſaw before him was real, are probably fictitious. When we obſerve the ſubtlety of Gellius's diſtinction between this ſect and that of the Academics, we cannot wonder that they have been often confounded. It was to very different philoſophers than thoſe of Pyrrho's maze or Epicurus's ſtye that Milton applies theſe charming lines;

How charming is divine philoſophy!
Not harſh and crabbed, as dull fools ſuppoſe,
But muſical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feaſt of nectar'd ſweets,
Where no crude ſurfeit reigns.

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the matter rather this meaning, or that meaning, or neither?" For they deny that proofs of any thing, or its real properties, can be known and perceived; and they endeavour to inculcate and prove this by many arguments. Upon which ſubject Favorinus has compoſed, with much ſubtlety and logic, ten books, which he entitles, "Pyrrhonian Modes." For it is an old queſtion, which has often been diſcuſſed by the Greek writers, in what things, and to what degree the Pyrrhonians differed from the Academics. For both were called Sceptics, enquirers, heſitaters, who affirm nothing, and think nothing can be comprehended. But they call all objects (φαντασιας) appearances, not as the nature of the objects is, but as the affection of the mind or body is in them, upon whom thoſe objects ſtrike. Therefore all thoſe things which act upon the ſenſes of men, they call "των προς τι," things which have a reference to ſomething elſe; which phraſe means, that it has nothing conſiſting in itſelf, no inherent and natural power. But that all things have a reference to ſomething, and appear to be ſuch as their image repreſents them; and as they are formed by our ſenſes which they touch upon, and not by that nature whence they themſelves proceed. But the Pyrrhonians and Academics think alike upon theſe ſubjects; yet they are thought to differ upon certain others, and particularly, becauſe the Academics as it were underſtand that nothing can ever

ever be underſtood, and as it were determine that nothing can ever be determined; while the Pyrrhonians affirm, that this by no means ſeems true, becauſe nothing ſeems true.

CHAP. VI.

The Roman women did not ſwear by Hercules, nor the men by Caſtor.

IN ancient writings, neither do the Roman women ſwear by Hercules, nor the men by Caſtor. Why the former did not ſwear by Hercules[1] is plain, for they abſtained from ſacrificing to

[1] *By Hercules.*]—See Propertius, iv. El. 10.

Maxima quæ gregibus devota eſt ara repertis,
Ara per has inquit maxima facta manus,
Hæc nullis unquam pateat veneranda puellis,
Herculis eximii ne ſit inulta ſitis.

The Romans obſerved many peculiarities with reſpect to the worſhip of Hercules. When they ſacrificed to Hercules, they introduced the name of no other god, nor ſuffered any dog to come within the incloſure. The reaſon of this, according to Plutarch, was, firſt, that he was but a half-god; and next, that he hated a dog, on account of the trouble he had with Cerberus.—From the ſame authority, we learn that

to him; but why the men did not call upon Caſtor in their oath, is not ſo eaſily explained. It is no where to be found amongſt good authors, that a woman ſays (" *Mehercule*") by Hercules, or that a man ſays (" *Mecaſtor*") by Caſtor. But (" *Ædepol*") which is ſwearing by Pollux, is common to man and woman. But Marcus Varro affirmed, that more anciently the men ſwore neither by Caſtor nor Pollux, but that this oath was uſed only by women, and was taken from the initiation to the Eleuſinian myſteries. By degrees, however, through inattention to an-

that there were two altars to Hercules, a greater and a leſs; and that the women were not allowed to taſte of what was offered on the greater.

The children of the Romans were forbidden to ſwear by Hercules in the houſe, but they might go out of doors and do ſo. Plutarch ſays, in his Roman Queſtions, that hiſtory relates of Hercules, that he never ſwore but one oath in his life. With reſpect to what Gellius ſays of Mecaſtor, there are exceptions to this rule, in the laſt act of the Aſinaria of Plautus, where Antemena ſays, " Hoc Ecaſtor eſt, quod ille it ad cænam cotidie."

Ecaſtor and Mecaſtor are perfectly equivalent, and were uſed indifferently. According to Voſſius, whoſe opinion ſeems the beſt on this ſubject; both *e* and *me* are jurative particles, adopted from the Greek μη and μα, the η being dropped from the former. Thus we have, in the Phormio of Terence, act. ii. ſc. 2. *Ecere*, according to the old gloſſary, for *by Ceres*. *Ejuno* and *Equirine*, are alſo found for *by Juno* and *by Quirinus*; *e de Pol*, is per deum Pollucem; *me dius Fidius*, per Jovis filium. There is alſo *Mehercule*, for *by Hercules*. They who derive *Ædepol* from per ædem Pollucis, of courſe write it with an *æ* in the firſt ſyllable.

tiquity,

tiquity, the men began to ſay (" *Ædepol*") and it became a cuſtomary phraſe: but *Mecaſtor*, ſpoken by a man, is to be found in no old writing.

CHAP. VII.

Old and obſolete words not to be uſed.

TO uſe words which are become ſomewhat obſolete and worn out, ſeems equally a fault with uſing unaccuſtomed terms of harſh and vulgar novelty: But it is, I think, more diſagreeable and more offenſive, to uſe new, unknown, and unheard-of words, than thoſe which are low and mean. By new, I mean thoſe which are unuſual, or laid aſide, though in date they may be ancient. But this is frequently the fault of late inſtruction, which the Greeks call ὀψιμαθία [1]. What you have never learned, you will be a long

[1] ὀψιμαθία.]—Our author has very happily hit off the moſt prevalent cauſe of this affectation of obſolete words, which he characteriſes under the title of ὀψιμαθία, or late-acquired learning. Theophraſtus has a chapter on the ſubject of ὀψιμαθία; but in his acceptation of the term, it means a late paſſion for learning, and particularly a deſire to learn ſuch things as are fit only for an earlier age.

Galen,

a long time learning; and when at laſt you begin to know it, you make it appear of vaſt moment, whereſoever and whenſoever you ſpeak of it. As it happened lately at Rome, when I was preſent, an old man, in repute as a pleader, but who had become learned in an irregular and ſudden manner, was ſpeaking before the prætor, and intended to tell him that a certain poor man lived in a miſerable manner, eat bread made of bran, and drank vapid and filthy wine. "This Roman knight (ſays he) eats chaff *(apludam)*, and drinks vinegar *(floces)*." All who were preſent looked one at another, at firſt with a diſturbed and inquiring countenance, anxious to know the meaning of each word; afterwards, as if he had ſpoken ſomething in the Tuſcan or Gallic language, they joined in a loud laugh. Now, this man had read, that the ancient farmers called the bran *(apludam)* which he met with in that play of

Galen, in his book de Agnitione Pulſuum, ſpeaks of the kind of opſimathy mentioned by Gellius, deſcribing men who introduce into medical diſſertations ſuch matters as they ought to have learned at ſchool, with other liberal knowledge. "According," ſays he, "to the cuſtom of men who acquire knowledge late, and are unable to keep it to themſelves, though quite foreign to the art they treat of."

Cicero, jeſting on himſelf as having late in life become a follower of Epicurus, and requiring therefore to be well fed, ſays, "Ὀψιμαθεῖς autem homines ſcis quam inſolentes ſint."—You know how impertinent they are who pick up their knowledge late in life. *Ep. ad Div.* ix. 20.

Plautus (if it be his) called the Aſtraba [2]. He had likewiſe read that floces *(vinegar)* in the old language, ſignified the dregs of wine, like the lees of oil. This he had picked up from Cæcilius in his "Merchants," and had preſerved the two words as ornaments of ſpeech. Another taſteleſs fellow [3] of this ſtamp, when his adverſary required that the cauſe ſhould be put off, "I intreat you (ſays he) prætor, aſſiſt me, ſuccour me, how long does this *bovinator*, ſhuffler, intend to delay me?" and then three or four times, with a loud voice, he bawled out the word *bovinator*. A whiſpering took place among ſome who were preſent, wondering at this monſter of a word. When he, exulting, as in triumph, cries, "Have you not read Lucilius, who calls a ſhuffling double-dealer, *bovinator?*" The verſe is in his ninth book.

[4] This ſhifting ſhuffler, with abuſive tongue.

[2] *Aſtraba.*]—Αστραβη is Greek for Clitella; this comedy is therefore conſidered as the ſame with that called in Latin Clitellaria, or the Packſaddle. Perhaps Aſtraba was the name of one of the Dramatis Perſonæ. Nonius Marcellus ſpeaks doubtfully as to the point, whether this comedy is to be attributed to Plautus or not. Feſtus cites the word *apluda* from Nævius——Per hercle *apluda* eſt hodie quam tu nequior.

[3] *Taſteleſs fellow.*]—In the original 'aperocalus.' In Greek απειροκαλια was nearly equivalent to αψιμαθια in its uſage. It deſcribed that want of proper conduct which Gellius attributes to late inſtruction.

[4] Hic ſtrigoſus, *bovinatorque* ore improbus duro.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

What Marcus Cato thought and ſaid of Albinus, who though a Roman, compoſed a hiſtory of his own country in Greek, at the ſame time apologizing for his ignorance.

MARCUS CATO is ſaid to have cenſured Aulus Albinus [a] with great juſtice, and elegance. Albinus, who was conſul with Lucius Lucullus, wrote a Roman hiſtory in Greek. In the beginning of his hiſtory he has expreſſed this ſentiment, "That no one can blame him, if he ſhall have written any thing in thoſe books incorrectly, or without elegance; for, (ſays he) I am a Roman, born in Latium, and

[a] *Albinus.*]—This Albinus is mentioned with reſpect by Cicero in his Brutus, where he is called literatus atque diſertus. A jeſt alſo of his againſt Carneades is related in the Lucullus, c. 45. Macrobius alſo relates the ſame incident as from Cornelius Nepos; but the life of Cato by this writer is obviouſly imperfect.

This kind of apology, introduced by Albinus, is very common, and may be found in many, and the beſt writers, ancient and modern. See the beginning of Apuleius—Macrobius, i. 1. See alſo the Apophthegms of Plutarch.

The ſame anecdote is related alſo by Plato, in his Hiſtory of Cato Minor.

the Greek tongue is quite foreign to me."* Therefore he ſought indulgence and favour towards his errors. When Marcus Cato read this, "Surely (ſays he) Aulus, thou art a trifler, ſince thou would'ſt rather apologize for a fault, than avoid it. It is uſual to aſk pardon, either when we have erred through ignorance, or done wrong from compulſion. But I deſire to know, who compelled thee to do that for which you aſk pardon, before you commit the fault?" This is in Cornelius Nepos's book upon Illuſtrious Men.

CHAP. IX.

Story of the ambaſſadors of Miletus, and Demoſthenes the orator, taken from Critolaus.

CRITOLAUS[1] relates, that ambaſſadors came from Miletus to Athens upon public buſineſs, perhaps to requeſt aſſiſtance. They engaged what lawyers they thought proper, to ſpeak for them, who, as they were inſtructed, addreſſed the people in behalf of the Mileſians. Demoſ-

[1] *Critolaus.*]—The age of this hiſtorian is uncertain; he is mentioned once or twice by Plutarch. See Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. l. iii.

thenes

thenes replied with ſeverity to the demands of the Mileſians, and contended that they were unworthy of aſſiſtance, nor was it the intereſt of the ſtate to grant it. The matter was deferred to the following day. The ambaſſadors in the mean time came to Demoſthenes, and with great earneſtneſs intreated that he would not oppoſe them. He aſked for money, and they gave him what he demanded. On the day following, when the buſineſs was again debated, Demoſthenes came into public with his neck and jaws wrapped up in woollen, complaining that he had a quincy, and could not ſpeak againſt the Mileſians. On this one of the people called out, that Demoſthenes was troubled with the ſilver-quincy[a]. Demoſthenes (ſays Critolaus) did not afterwards

[a] *Silver-quincy.*]—Argyranche. If the reader does not think me tedious, I ſhall not lament taking a little trouble to reſcue a man of ſuch eminence as Demoſthenes from an imputation which probably had no foundation.

The ſame reproach againſt Demoſthenes is related by Plutarch, in his life of that orator, but with circumſtances perfectly different. His narrative is this, "It was not long after this, when Harpalus quitted the ſervice of Alexander, and fled out of Aſia to Athens, he was conſcious to himſelf of many lewd practices occaſioned by his luxury, and feared the king, who was now grown terrible even to his beſt friends; yet this man had no ſooner addreſſed himſelf to the people, and delivered up his goods, his ſhips, and himſelf to their diſpoſal, but the other orators of the town had their eyes quickly fixed on his money, and came in to his aſſiſtance, perſuading the Athenians to receive and pro-

afterwards conceal the matter, but conſidered it as a matter of triumph. For, having aſked Ariſtodemus the player, how much he received for

teſt their ſuppliant. But Demoſthenes at firſt gave advice to chaſe him out of the country, and to beware leſt they involved their city in a war, upon ſo unneceſſary and unjuſt an occaſion. Yet ſome few days after, as they were taking an account of the treaſure, Harpalus, perceiving how much he was pleaſed with the king's cup, and how curiouſly he ſurveyed the ſculpture and faſhion of it, he deſired him to poiſe it in his hand, and conſider the weight of the gold. Demoſthenes being amazed to feel how heavy it was, aſked him what price it would come for? "To you, ſir," ſaid Harpalus, "it ſhall come with twenty talents;" and preſently after, when night drew on, he ſent him the cup with ſo many talents. This Harpalus, it ſeems, was a perſon of good ſkill to diſcern a man's covetouſneſs, by the air in his countenance, and from the pleaſant caſt of his eyes to diſcern his nature. For in ſhort, Demoſthenes could not reſiſt the temptation, but receiving the preſent like a garriſon into his houſe, he was overcome, and wholly ſurrendered himſelf up to the intereſt of Harpalus. The next day he came into the aſſembly, with his neck ſwathed about with wool and rollers, and when they called on him to riſe and ſpeak, he made ſigns as if he had loſt his voice. But the wits, turning the matter to ridicule, ſaid, that certainly the orator had not been ſeized that night with a ſimple but a ſilver ſquincy."

I have uſed the tranſlation of Dryden, which is however in many places very inaccurate, and affords a ſtrong proof of the careleſs and imperfect manner in which that job was performed. The pun upon ἀξίᾳ in particular is totally loſt. Demoſthenes aſked ποσου ἀγεις, how much does it

for acting, he anſwered, a talent. I (ſays Demoſthenes) have had more for holding my tongue.

it weigh or bring? Harpalus anſwered, ἀξει σοι εικοσι ταλαντα, it ſhall bring to you twenty talents.

In refutation of the above, I muſt now beg leave to inſert the following tranſlation from the ſecond book of Pauſanias, which carries with it every internal mark of authenticity and truth. "Demoſthenes, in his old age, was compelled not only to go into exile, but to kill himſelf. Many things have been related of him by others, and aſſerted by himſelf, importing that of the riches which Harpalus brought out of Aſia, Demoſthenes received nothing. What was afterwards ſaid, I ſhall here relate. Harpalus, flying from Athens, went with ſome ſhips to Crete, where, after a ſhort time, he was murdered by ſome of his domeſtics. Some ſay he was by ſome artifice put to death by Pauſanias, a man of Macedon. Philoxenes the Macedonian ſeized his treaſurer when flying to Rhodes; and the ſame perſon had alſo required of the Athenians to deliver up Harpalus to him. When in poſſeſſion of this man's perſon, he made rigorous enquiry concerning all who had received money of Harpalus; whom when he knew he ſent letters to Athens. In theſe, he not only mentioned by name thoſe who had taken any bribes, but the particular ſum which each individual had received: but he made no mention of Demoſthenes, although the orator was very obnoxious to Alexander, and although Philoxenes himſelf perſonally hated him.—Honours are paid to Demoſthenes, both in other parts of Greece, and particularly by the inhabitants of Calaurea."

Eraſmus, who hunted for proverbs wherever he could find them, has the phraſe of Argentanginam pati, which he explains and exemplifies from the above ſtory of Demoſthenes, as given by Plutarch.

CHAP. X.

Caius Gracchus fixes the above ſtory upon Demades and not Demoſthenes. C. Gracchus's words quoted.

THE ſtory which in the foregoing chapter we ſaid was told by Critolaus of Demoſthenes, Caius Gracchus, in his ſpeech againſt the Aufeian law, has related of Demades[1], in theſe words:

[1] *Demades.*]—The ſtory which is in this chapter related of Demades, is much more likely to be true of him than of Demoſthenes. Demades was as remarkable for his avarice and extortion, as for his want of integrity. Plutarch relates, in the life of Phocion, that Antipater uſed to ſay, he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades, on one of whom he could never prevail to accept any thing, to the other he could never give enough. Phocion gloried in his poverty, which he preſerved to the hour of his death, though ſo often in command for Athens, and in friendſhip with many ſovereigns; but Demades was proud of his wealth, even though diſhoneſtly obtained. There was a law at Athens, that for every foreign dancer on the ſtage, the Choragus ſhould pay a thouſand drachmas. Demades exhibited a hundred foreign dancers on the ſtage, and at the ſame time paid down the fine of a thouſand drachmas for each. When he celebrated the nuptials of his ſon Demeas, he ſaid, 'When I married your mother, my next door neighbour

words: "For you, O Romans! if you would be wiſe and virtuous, will find, if you enquire, that no one of us comes forward into public without being paid for it; that all who addreſs you, have ſome requeſt to make; nor does any one come before you for any other purpoſe, than that he may carry ſomething away. I myſelf, who am now ſpeaking to recommend to you an increaſe of your taxes, that you may be able to anſwer your own exigencies, and thoſe of the ſtate, do not deliver my ſentiments without reward. What I ſeek of you is not money, but honour, and your good opinion. The orators who diſſuade you from accepting this law, do not want your honours, but the money of Nicomedes. And they who perſuade you to accept it, they too do not look for your good opinion, but for the friendſhip and the purſe of Mithridates; whilſt they who ſit upon the ſame ſeat, and are ſilent, they

bour hardly perceived the celebration of our nuptials, but the expences of your marriage are paid by kings and potentates.' He propoſed at Athens, that Alexander ſhould be the thirteenth of the great gods. He was fined for his impiety; but he told the Athenians to take care, that in their ſcrupulous anxiety about the heavens, they did not loſe the earth. In his account of this anecdote, at the article Olympias, Bayle with great acuteneſs detects Eraſmus of a material error, in not properly underſtanding the words of Demades.

The Athenians afterwards deified Alexander, decreeing him the honours of Bacchus. 'Pray,' ſaid Diogenes, 'deify me too, and make me Serapis.'

are

are your bittereſt enemies, for they receive a bribe from all parties, and are faithful to none. While you conſider ſuch people as not engaged in theſe matters, you compliment them with your eſteem: but the ambaſſadors of princes, when they ſuppoſe orators hold their peace in compliment to them, are very laviſh in their gifts. As in Greece, when a tragedian boaſted that he had received a whole talent for one night's acting, Demades, the moſt eloquent man in the ſtate, is reported to have anſwered, 'You ſeem to think it wonderful, that you have gained a talent by ſpeaking. Now, I received ten talents from the king for being ſilent.' So too do theſe receive the greateſt price for holding their peace."

CHAP. XI.

The words of Publius Nigidius, in which he ſays there is a difference between lying and telling a lye. [1]

THESE are the words of Publius Nigidius, a man of great eminence in polite literature, and for whom Marcus Cicero had the higheſt reſpect, on account of his genius and accompliſhments. "There is a difference between telling a lye, and lying. He who lies is not deceived himſelf, but attempts to deceive another: he who tells a lye, is himſelf deceived."

[1] Theſe diſtinctions of Nigidius are little better than quibbles: *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere* do not neceſſarily differ in Latin, more than *to lye*, and *to tell a lye* in Engliſh; but it is evident, that a man may poſſibly tell or repeat a lye, either knowing it to be ſuch, or not knowing it. In the former caſe, if he endeavours to make it paſs for truth, he himſelf lyes; in the latter, he is only deceived. Polybius puts the thing much more plainly and ſenſibly. He ſays, "There are two ways of ſpeaking falſely, either through ignorance, or by choice; the former is pardonable, the latter not."

Apuleius, in his vindication of himſelf againſt the charge of magic, makes the ſame diſtinction betwixt the words *mentiri* and *falli* as Nigidius does betwixt *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*.

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He adds likewiſe, "He who lyes, deceives, as far as he is himſelf concerned; but he who tells a lye, does not deceive as far as he is concerned." He moreover ſays, "It behoves a good man to take care not to lye, and a wiſe one not to tell a lye." The former falls upon the man himſelf, the other does not. Diſtinctly, in truth, and neatly, has Nigidius ſeparated his examinations of this ſubject, in ſuch a manner as to make them appear two different things.

CHAP. XII.

Chryſippus the philoſopher ſays, that every word is ambiguous and doubtful. Diodorus thinks, on the other hand, that no word is ſo.

CHRYSIPPUS[1] affirms, that every word is by nature ambiguous, becauſe two or more interpretations may be given of it. But Diodorus,

[1] *Chryſippus.*]—Chryſippus, according to Diogenes Laertius, wrote two books upon ambiguous expreſſions, and addreſſed them to Apollas or Apellas. Quintilian alludes to the ſame aſſertion of this philoſopher, where he ſays, 'There are ſo many ſpecies of amphibology, or dubious expreſſion,

Diodorus, ſurnamed Cronus, ſays, that no word is ambiguous, nor does any one ſpeak a word or receive it in two ſenſes; nor ought it to ſeem as if ſpoken in any other ſenſe than that which the ſpeaker intends to give it. For (ſays he) when I ſpeak a word in one ſenſe, and you receive it in another, it muſt be rather ſpoken obſcurely than

preſſion, that, according to ſome philoſophers, there is no word that has not more than one meaning."

The diſtinction of Diodorus Cronus, in oppoſition to this, ſeems to contain only a refinement of no great uſe or importance. This Diodorus is alſo frequently quoted by Sextus Empiricus, but there ſeems to be a doubt whether the name of Cronus properly belongs to Diodorus. See Meibomius ad Diog. Laert. vol. ii. p. 126.

The name of Cronus occurs in an epigram of Callimachus, where he is called a wiſe man. Ο Κρονος εστι σοφος. A ſingular anecdote is told of him by Diogenes Laertius, that being at the court of Ptolemy, and unable to anſwer ſome ænigmatical queſtion from Stilpo, he died of grief. An epitaph, or rather epigram, exiſts, which I hope to be excuſed for inſerting.

Κρονε Διοδωρε τις σε δαιμονων κακη
Αθυμιᾳ ξυνειρυσεν,
Ιν' αυτος αυτον εμβαλης εις ταρταρον
Στιλπωνος ου λυσας επη
Αινιγματωδη; τοι γαρ ευρεθης Κρονος
Εξωθεν τε ρω καππατι.

Literally thus:—"Cronus Diodorus, what deity could ſo deprive you of your ſenſes, as to induce you to put an end to your life, becauſe you could not ſolve the riddles of Stilpo? you will therefore appear to be really Κρονος, taking away the κ and the ρ."—Anglicè, *an aſs*, ονος being Greek for an aſs.

ambiguouſly.

ambiguouſly. The nature of an ambiguous word ſhould be, that he who ſpeaks ſhould ſeem to ſay two or more things; but no man ſays two or more things, that means to ſay but one.

CHAP. XIII.

What Titus Caſtricius thought of the words and the ſentiments of Caius Gracchus, not allowing any dignity to what he ſaid.

A SPEECH of Caius Gracchus, againſt Publius Popilius, was read before Titus Caſtricius, a teacher of rhetoric, and a man of ſtrong and ſolid judgment. In the beginning of that ſpeech, the words were arranged with more ſtudied attention, and more harmony, than is uſual in the orators of antiquity. The words I ſpeak of are theſe: "The things which for years you have been anxiouſly[1] aiming at, and wiſhing for, if you now

[1] *Anxiouſly.*]—We cannot eaſily find a more judicious criticiſm than this of Caſtricius. The words *cupidè* and *temere*, in the former part of the ſentence, abſolutely deſtroy its effect, and reduce it almoſt to nonſenſe. Whereas, without them, it is ſtrong and well-conſtructed.

H. Stephens is of the ſame opinion, and thinks that the words

now raſhly throw aſide, it cannot fail but you muſt either be ſaid to have deſired without judgment, or to have rejected without conſideration."

The rhythm and ſound of this flowing ſentence particularly pleaſed us, and ſo much the more, as we perceived, even in thoſe days, ſuch ſort of compoſition was ſtudied by Caius Gracchus, a man of eminence and gravity. But when theſe words were often read over to us, who called for a repetition of them, we were adviſed by Caſtricius to conſider wherein conſiſted the force of the ſentence, and what we gained * by it, and not to allow our ears to be ſo gratified by the flowing meaſures of an elegant ſentence, as to overpower our judgment. When by this admonition he had made us more attentive, "Examine," ſays, he, "what after all, theſe words avail; and let any of you ſay, whether there be any weight or elegance in this ſentence: 'The things which for years you have been anxiouſly

words *cupidè* and *temere* are either miſplaced, or that there is ſome corruption in the paſſage.

There is certainly a kind of tautology in the ſentence, not unlike the one adduced by Quintus Carolus, from Plautus, to exemplify the paſſage.

Cui homini dii ſunt propitii, ei non eſſe iratus pute. The gods cannot be diſpleaſed and angry with thoſe to whom they are propitious.

* *What we gained.*]—*Emolumenti* in the original.—H. Stephens propoſes to read *momenti*. Some editions read *monumentum*. See H. Stephens, 161.

aiming

aiming at and wiſhing for, if you now raſhly throw aſide, it cannot fail but you muſt either be ſaid to have deſired without judgment, or to have rejected without conſideration.' For who is not aware that it is uſual *(ut quod cupidè appetieris cupidè appetiſſe)* to deſire earneſtly that which you earneſtly deſire, and to throw aſide with raſhneſs, that which you raſhly throw aſide? But, according to my opinion, the ſentence was thus written: 'What you have ſought and wiſhed for theſe many years, if you now reject, you cannot but be ſaid either to have ſought too anxiouſly, or to have rejected too raſhly.' If it were ſo ſpoken, the ſentence would ſurely be more weighty and more ſolid, and would ſatisfy the expectation of the hearer. But at preſent, the words *anxiouſly* and *raſhly*, upon which the whole weight of the ſentence hangs, are not only placed in the end of the ſentence, but appear before they are wanted in the beginning; and that which ought to ariſe from the ſubject, is ſpoken before the ſubject calls for it. For he who ſays, 'If you do this, you will be ſaid to have done it with too much anxiety,' ſpeaks what is completed with ſome regard to ſenſe; but he who ſays, 'If you do this anxiouſly, you will be ſaid to have done it anxiouſly,' ſays no more than, if you do it anxiouſly, you do it anxiouſly. I have warned you (ſays he) of theſe matters, not that I might caſt a cenſure upon Caius Gracchus (for the gods have bleſſed me with a better

MUTILATION NOTED

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to-bed, and a ſon added to the family of his pupil. "Let us go," ſays he, "to ſee the woman, and congratulate the father." He was a ſenator, and of a noble family. We, all who were preſent, followed him to the houſe, and entered with him. Then, at his firſt entrance, embracing and congratulating the father, he ſat down, and enquired whether the labour had been long and painful. When he was informed that the young woman, overcome with fatigue, was gone to ſleep, he began to converſe more at large. "I have no doubt," ſays he, "but ſhe will ſuckle her ſon herſelf." But when the mother of the lady ſaid, that ſhe muſt ſpare her daughter, and find nurſes * for the child, that to the pains of

for it is obſerved, that the number of infants of all conditions, who periſh from the prevailing cuſtom of putting out children to nurſe, is almoſt incredible. I am alſo given to underſtand by thoſe whoſe judgments in matters of this kind are ſuperior to my own, that the females who refuſe to ſuckle their children, from the idea that the employment will be injurious to their beauty, frequently deceive themſelves; that from the circumſtance of unnaturally repelling the milk, cancers, tumours, aſthmas, and a long train of dangerous and dreadful maladies, frequently enſue.

* *Find nurſes.*]—It is certain, that both among the Greeks and Romans, the ſuckling of children was a ſervile office. Among the Romans, Greek women were preferred for this purpoſe. See Tacitus in Dial. de Cauſis Cor. Eloq.

"At nunc natus infans, delegatur Græcula, alieni ancillæ cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus ſervis, plerumque viliſſimus."

of child-birth might not be added the toilſome and difficult taſk of ſuckling the child; "I entreat you, madam," ſaid he, "allow her to be the ſole and entire mother of her own ſon. For how unnatural a thing is it, how imperfect and half-ſort of motherly office, to bring forth a child, and inſtantly to ſend him from her; to nouriſh in her womb, with her own blood, ſomething which ſhe has never ſeen, and not with her own milk to ſupport that offspring which ſhe now ſees endued with life and human faculties, and imploring the tender care of a mother. And do you ſuppoſe," he continued, "that nature has given boſoms to women only to heighten their beauty, and more for the ſake of ornament, than to nouriſh their children. For on this account (which be it far from you) many unnatural women endeavour to dry up and extinguiſh that ſacred fountain of the body, and nouriſhment of man, with great hazard turning and corrupting the channel of their milk, leſt it ſhould render the diſtinctions of their beauty leſs attractive. They do this with the ſame inſenſibility as thoſe who endeavour by the uſe

As ſoon as an infant is born, he is given to the care of ſome Greek female, to whom is joined one or more of the very meaneſt of the ſlaves.

Somebody once reproached a free-born Athenian woman, that ſhe had taken a child to nurſe for hire; ſhe exculpated herſelf by ſaying, that it was in time of war, when the Athenians had loſt much of their property, and it was not an eaſy thing for citizens to ſupport their dignity. The anecdote is ſomewhere in Demoſthenes.

of quack medicines to deſtroy their conceptions [*], leſt they ſhould injure their perſons and their ſhapes. Since the deſtruction of a human being in its firſt formation, while he is in the act of receiving animation, and yet under the hands of his artificer, nature, is deſerving of public deteſtation and abhorrence; how much more ſo muſt it be to deprive a child of its proper, its accuſtomed and congenial nutriment, when now perfect and produced to the world. But it is of no conſequence, it is ſaid, provided it be nouriſhed and kept alive, by whoſe milk it is. Why does not he who affirms this, if he be ſo ignorant of the proceſſes of nature, ſuppoſe likewiſe that it is of no conſequence from what body or from what blood an human being is formed and put together? Is not that blood, which is now in the breaſts, and has become white by much ſpirit and warmth, the ſame as that which was in the womb? But is not the wiſdom of nature evident

* *Deſtroy conceptions.*]—The cuſtom of procuring abortion I underſtand to be very prevalent in oriental countries, and wherever polygamy is allowed. When a favourite ſultana proves with child, ſhe incurs great riſk of being ſupplanted in the affections of her maſter, and has therefore recourſe to the abominable means of counteracting nature. See in particular Ruſſel's Hiſtory of Aleppo.

A ſentence which follows I have not tranſlated: "Ne æquor illud ventris irrugetur." Ovid has an expreſſion altogether ſimilar,—

Scilicet, ut careat rugarum crimine venter,
Sternetur pugnæ triſtis arena tuæ.

alſo in this inſtance, that as ſoon as the blood, which is the artificer, has formed the human body within its penetralia, it riſes into the upper parts, and is ready to cheriſh the firſt particles of life and light, ſupplying known and familiar food to the new-born infants? Wherefore it is not without reaſon believed, that as the power and quality of the ſeed avail to form likeneſſes of the body and mind, in the ſame degree alſo the nature and properties of the milk avail toward effecting the ſame purpoſe. Nor is this confined to the human race, but is obſerved alſo in beaſts. For if kids are brought up by the milk of ſheep, or lambs with that of goats, it is plain, by experience, that in the former is produced a harſher ſort of wool, in the latter a ſofter ſpecies of hair. So in trees, and in corn, their ſtrength and vigour is great in proportion to the quality of the moiſture and ſoil which nouriſh them, rather than of the ſeed which is put into the ground. Thus you often ſee a ſtrong and flouriſhing tree, when tranſplanted, die away, from the inferior quality of the ſoil. What, I would aſk, can be the reaſon then that you ſhould corrupt the dignity of a new-born human being, formed in body and mind from principles of diſtinguiſhed excellence, by the foreign and degenerate nouriſhment of another's milk? particularly if ſhe whom you hire for the purpoſe of ſupplying the milk be a ſlave, or of a ſervile condition, or, as it often happens, of a foreign and barbarous nation, or if ſhe be diſhoneſt,

diſhoneſt, or ugly, or unchaſte, or drunken; for often, without heſitation, any one is hired who happens to have milk when wanted. And ſhall we then ſuffer this our infant to be polluted with pernicious contagion, and to inhale into its body and mind a ſpirit drawn from a body and mind of the worſt nature? This, no doubt, is the cauſe of what we ſo often wonder at, that the children of chaſte women turn out neither in body or mind like their parents. Wiſely and with ſkill has our poet Virgil ſpoken in imitation of theſe lines in Homer,—

Sure Peleus[4] ne'er begat a ſon like thee,
Nor Thetis gave thee birth: the azure ſea
Produc'd thee, or the flinty rocks alone
Were the fierce parents of ſo fierce a ſon.

He charges him not only upon the circumſtance of his birth, but his ſubſequent education, which he has called fierce and ſavage. Virgil, to the Homeric deſcription, has added theſe words:

And fierce Hyrcanian tygers gave thee ſuck.

Undoubtedly, in forming the manners, the nature of the milk takes, in a great meaſure, the diſpoſition of the perſon who ſupplies it, and then

[4] *Sure Peleus.*]—Theſe are the words of Phœnix, reproaching Achilles for his ſtern and implacable temper. Iliad xvi. v. 33.

The quotation from Virgil is in the fourth Æneid, v. 367. See the note of Taubmannus at this paſſage, p. 589. and the parallel chapter of Macrobius, l. v. c. 11.

forms from the ſeed of the father, and the perſon and ſpirit of the mother, its infant offſpring. And beſides all this, who can think it a matter to be treated with negligence and contempt, that while they deſert their own offſpring, driving it from themſelves, and committing it for nouriſhment to the care of others, they cut off, or at leaſt looſen and relax, that mental obligation, that tie of affection, by which nature binds parents to their children? For when a child is removed from its mother, and given to a ſtranger, the energy of maternal fondneſs by little and little is checked, and all the vehemence of impatient ſolicitude is put to ſilence. And it becomes much more eaſy to forget a child which is put out to nurſe, than one of which death has deprived us. Moreover, the natural affection of a child, its fondneſs, its familiarity, is directed to that object [5] only from which it receives its nouriſhment, and thence (as in infants expoſed at their birth) the child has no knowledge of its mother, and no regret for the loſs of her. Having thus deſtroyed the foundations of natural affection, however children thus brought up may ſeem to love their

[5] *Directed to that object.*]—The converſe of this may alſo be uſed as an argument, if any ſuch were wanting, to induce mothers to undertake this important office. See Letters to Married Women.

"That the taſk itſelf is a pleaſure, the fondneſs of nurſes towards children at the breaſt fully proves; and that it is an indiſpenſable duty, the feelings of human nature explain."

father

father or mother, that regard is in a great meaſure not natural, but the reſult of civil obligation and opinion." Theſe ſentiments, which I heard Favorinus deliver in Greek, I have, as far as I could, related, for the ſake of their common utility. But the elegancies, the copiouſneſs, and the flow of his words, ſcarcely any power of Roman eloquence could arrive at, leaſt of all any which I poſſeſs.

CHAP. II [1].

Annæus Seneca, in his judgment upon Ennius and Cicero, expreſſed himſelf in a trifling and futile manner.

SOME people conſider Annæus Seneca as a writer of little value, whoſe works are not worth turning over, becauſe his ſtyle is low and vulgar; his matter and his ſentiments are expreſſed with a fooliſh and empty parade, or a trifling and affected pertneſs; while his learning is of the

[1] The cenſure which Gellius in this chapter paſſes upon Seneca, a man in moſt inſtances far ſuperior to himſelf, will not eaſily be approved by men of learning. The works of Seneca undoubtedly contain much valuable and important matter. Quintilian has diſcuſſed the ſubject of his merit and talents at ſome length, and though in many reſpects he thinks him reprehenſible, on the whole he allows him a degree of excellence, which the teſtimony and praiſe of ſucceeding ages has confirmed. His memory has alſo found an able and indefatigable vindicator in Lipſius. It is no little praiſe which Seneca deſerves, when we conſider, that in the moſt profligate and corrupt times of the Roman empire, and in the reign of a prince who conſidered every advocate of virtue as his own perſonal enemy, he dared to cenſure the vices, which debaſed his country, with equal dignity and juſtice. The ſtory of Seneca's connection with Nero, and his fatal end, are ſubjects too notorious for diſcuſſion in this place.

common

common ſtamp, neither borrowing from the ſources of antiquity, nor poſſeſſing any grace or dignity of its own. Some, however, do not deny him the praiſe of elegance in the choice of words, and even allow that he is not deficient in the knowledge of thoſe ſubjects of which he treats; and that he has cenſured the vices of the times with becoming gravity and ſolemnity. It is not neceſſary for me to paſs my opinion upon every effort of his genius, or each of his writings, but we will examine the ſentence he has paſſed upon M. Cicero, Q. Ennius, and P. Virgil. In the twenty-ſecond book[a] of his Moral Epiſtles, addreſſed to Lucilius, he ſays, that Quintus Ennius has written theſe fooliſh verſes concerning Cethegus, a man of antiquity:

——dictus ollis popularibus olim,
Qui cum vivebant homines atque ævum agitabant,
Flos delibatus populi et Suada medulla.

He then criticiſes theſe lines thus: I wonder that thoſe illuſtrious men, who were ſo devoted to

[a] *Twenty-ſecond book.*]—The works of Seneca are not now divided into books; the part to which there is here an alluſion is loſt. The fragment of Ennius may be thus interpreted: "All his fellow citizens, who lived at that time, agreed in calling him (Cethegus) the choſen flower of the people, and the very marrow of eloquence." The expreſſion of Suada medulla occurs in Cicero. Suada was the goddeſs of eloquence, called by the Greeks Peitho.

Ennius,

Ennius, ſhould have commended theſe ridiculous verſes, as the beſt of that author's production. For Cicero quotes them as an example of good verſe. He then ſays thus of Cicero: I no longer wonder that there are found thoſe who will write ſuch lines, ſince there are not wanting thoſe who commend them; unleſs perchance Cicero was pleading ſome cauſe, and wiſhed to make them appear excellent. He then adds this very ſtupid remark: even in the proſe compoſitions of Cicero there are paſſages, from which you may diſcover that he has read Ennius, not without ſome profit. He alſo cites from Cicero, paſſages which he blames, as being imitations of Ennius, as in his books de Republicâ, where he ſays that Menelaus was endowed with a *ſuaviloquens jucunditas*[3]; and in another place, he obſerves in ſpeaking a *(breviloquentiam)* conciſe-

[3] *Jucunditas.*]—A ſweet ſpeaking pleaſantneſs. Homer thus ſpeaks of Menelaus:

When Atreus' ſon harangued the liſt'ning train,
Juſt was his ſenſe, and his expreſſion plain;
His words ſuccinct and full, without a fault;
He ſpoke no more than juſt the thing he ought.

It may not be impertinent to add what Cicero and Quintilian ſay on this ſubject.

Cicero.—Menelaum ipſum dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, ſed pauca loquentem.

Quintilian.—Homerus brevem cum animi jucunditate et propriam, id enim eſt non errare, verbis et carentem ſupervacuis, eloquentiam Menelao dedit.

neſs.

neſs. Then this trifling man proceeds to apologize for the errors of Cicero, which, he ſays, "was the fault, not of the author, but of the age. When it was thought worth while to read ſuch verſes, it was neceſſary to write ſuch criticiſms." He adds, that "Cicero inſerted this, that he might eſcape the cenſure of being too diffuſe, and ſtudious of terſeneſs in his ſtyle." In the ſame book, he paſſes this judgment upon Virgil. "Our poet Virgil too, from the ſame reaſon, has written ſome harſh and irregular lines, of unuſual length, that the popular taſte for Ennius might diſcover ſomething of antiquity in a modern poem." But I am weary of Seneca's remarks; yet I cannot omit theſe jokes of this fooliſh, inſipid, and ignorant man. "There are (ſays he) ſome ſentiments in Ennius ſo ſtriking, that although written amongſt the *(hircoſos)* loweſt vulgar, yet give delight amongſt the *(unguentatos)* moſt poliſhed." And having cenſured the lines before quoted upon Cethegus, he ſays, "the man who likes ſuch verſes as theſe, may as well like the beds of Sotericus[4]."

Worthy, no doubt, muſt Seneca appear of the peruſal and attention of young men, who has

[4] *Sotericus.*]—This was probably ſome rude artificer of ſome celebrity in the leſs poliſhed times of the republic. In after times, the beds of the Romans were ſumptuouſly decorated with gold and ſilver. The beds of Sotericus became a proverbial expreſſion for any thing of mean and inelegant workmanſhip.

compared the dignity and beauty of ancient compoſition to the beds of Sotericus, that is, as poſſeſſing no excellence, and as obſolete and contemptible. I ſhall however, in this place record and relate a few things which this Seneca has written well. Such is that which he has ſaid of a miſer, one covetous, and as it were thirſting for money. "What does it ſignify how much you have, there is ſtill much more which you have not." This is very well indeed. But the taſte of young men is not ſo much improved by good, as it is corrupted by bad writing. And ſo much the more, if the bad far exceeds the good, and part of the former is not given merely as a comment upon ſome ſimple and unimportant matter, but is communicated as advice in ſomething of a dubious nature.

CHAP. III.

Meaning and origin of the word Lictor; *different opinions of Valgius Rufus, and the freedman of Tullius Cicero.*

VALGIUS RUFUS, in his ſecond book, intituled, "de Rebus per Epiſtolam quæſitis," ſays, the *lictor*[1] takes his name from *ligando*, becauſe when the Roman magiſtrates ordered any one to be whipped with rods, his legs and hands were accuſtomed *(ligari)* to be bound by a beadle; and he whoſe office it was as beadle to bind the criminal, was called *Lictor*. He quotes likewiſe upon the ſubject the authority of Marcus Tullius, in his ſpeech for Caius Rabirius. "*Lictor* (ſays he) bind his hands." Thus ſays Valgius, and I am indeed of his opinion. But Tiro Tullius, the freedman of Cicero, derives *lictor* from *(linum)* a rope, or *(licium)* a

[1] *Lictor.*]—Nonius Marcellus is of the ſame opinion.

Lictoris proprietatem a ligando dictam putat vetuſtas, Ita enim antiquitus carnificis officium fungebatur.

See alſo Feſtus:

Lictores dicuntur quod faſces virgarum ligatos ferunt, Hi parentes magiſtratibus, delinquentibus plagas ingerunt.

thread.

thread. For (ſays he) they who attended upon the magiſtrates were girded with a twiſted cord called a rope. Now, if any one thinks Tullius's opinion more probable, becauſe the firſt ſyllable in *lictor* as in *licium* is long, and in *ligo* ſhort, that is of no conſequence, for *lictor* comes from *ligando*, as *lector* from *legendo*, *victor* from *vincendo*, *tutor* from *tuendo*, *ſtructor* from *ſtruendo*, the vowels originally ſhort being made long.

CHAP. IV.

Lines from the ſeventh book of Ennius's Annals, in which the diſpoſition and conciliating conduct of an inferior toward a ſuperior friend is deſcribed and defined.

IN the ſeventh book of Ennius's Annals is deſcribed with exactneſs and ſkill, in the character of Geminus Servilius[1], a man of rank, the diſpoſition,

[1] *Geminus Servilius.*]—When Tullus Hoſtilius took and deſtroyed Alba, he removed many of the more noble families to Rome, and placed them in the ſenatorial order. Sufficient teſtimony of this incident appears from Livy and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis. The Servilian family was among theſe, and always enjoyed the higheſt reputation and diſtinction.

diſpoſition, the complaiſance, the modeſty, the fidelity, the reſtraint, and the propriety of ſpeech; the knowledge of ancient and modern ſcience; the ſtrict obligation to preſerve ſecrecy, with the various remedies to diminiſh the cares of life, by means of its relaxations and comforts, which ought to adorn him who profeſſes himſelf the friend of one ſuperior in rank to himſelf. Thoſe verſes are, I think, no leſs worthy of frequent and attentive peruſal, than the decrees of philoſophers upon the duties of life. Beſides, there is ſuch a ſacred taſte of antiquity in his lines, ſuch an unmixed ſweetneſs, ſo removed from all obſcurity, that in my opinion they are to be remembered and obſerved as the ancient and conſecrated laws of friendſhip. Wherefore I thought them worthy of being tranſcribed, if there be any one who has not ſeen them.

Thus ſaying, on his faithful friend he called,
A friend, with whom in free and open talk
The table's ſocial joys he oft had ſhar'd;
With whom he many a lengthen'd day had paſs'd,

tinction. The Servilius Geminus here mentioned was conſul with Lucius Aurelius, and according to a paſſage in the firſt book of the Tuſculan Queſtions, chap. xxxvii. he ſignalized himſelf at the battle of Cannæ.

The verſes quoted in this chapter are certainly corrupt. Turnebus has taken ſome trouble to explain them, and has in part ſucceeded. See his Adverſaria, p. 620.

On

On ſerious or on trifling ſchemes, in council deep;
On legal topics, ſenatorial power,
On high exploits, or gayer lighter themes,
Still ſpeaking each his thought, approv'd or not,
There lurk'd no baſe deſigns with miſchief fraught;
But virtue, learning, mildneſs, eloquence,
Contentment, knowledge, and a happy mind,
Still prompting wiſe advice, reſtraining ſtill
The flippancy of ſpeech, with antique lore
Well grac'd, nor leſs with modern wiſdom ſtor'd;
A mind alike prepared the knotty points
Of human laws, or laws divine, to ſolve,
The veil of cautious ſilence to employ,
Or grace with eloquence the cauſe of truth:
On him, amid the battle's fierceſt rage,
Servilius called, and thus his thoughts expreſs'd.

They ſay that Lucius Ælius Stilo was accuſtomed to aſſert that Q. Ennius wrote theſe verſes on himſelf, and that this was a repreſentation and deſcription of his own manners and talents.

CHAP. V.

Diſcourſe of the philoſopher Taurus, upon the manner of ſupporting pain, according to the decrees of the Stoics. [1]

WHEN the philoſopher went to Delphi to ſee the Pythian games, and to meet an aſſembly of almoſt all Greece, I was one of his attendants, and on the journey we came to Le-

[1] I have before had occaſion to ſpeak of the peculiarities of the Stoic diſcipline; the more curious reader may compare the contents of this chapter with Cicero, l. iii. de Finibus, and l. ii. of Tuſculan Queſtions. Zeno, to avoid the peculiarities of Epicurus as far as poſſible, who made happineſs conſiſt in an exemption from fatigue and pain, made his wiſe man free from all paſſions of every kind, and capable of happineſs in the midſt of the ſevereſt anguiſh. What opinion our Milton entertained of all theſe philoſophers, and their different ſyſtems, may be collected from the following paſſage:

Others apart ſat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reaſoned high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge abſolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes loſt.
Of good and evil much they argued, then
Of happineſs, and final miſery,
Paſſion and apathy, and glory and ſhame,
Vain wiſdom all and falſe philoſophy.

badia [2], an old town in Bœotia. Word was here brought to Taurus, that a friend of his, a man of rank, and a philoſopher of the ſtoic ſchool, was oppreſſed with a grievous fit of ſickneſs; checking therefore the ſpeed of our journey, which otherwiſe required diſpatch, and leaving the carriage, he proceeded to viſit his friend, and I (as it was my cuſtom to go with him everywhere) followed. When we came to the houſe in which the ſick man was, we perceived him lying under great pain and anguiſh, afflicted with a diſorder which the Greeks call colon [3]; and in a raging fever [4]; his groans, half-ſtifled, burſt from him, and the deep ſighs which eſcaped from his inmoſt breaſt [5], diſcovered no leſs the

[2] *Lebadia.*]—Here was anciently an oracle of Trophonius, which was delivered from ſome den or cavern. Its modern appellation is Livadia.

[3] *Colon.*]—The colon, in anatomy, is one of the thick inteſtines, and it is from this part that the diſeaſe called the colic takes its name; and it was probably this which afflicted the poor philoſopher, who is here mentioned as ſtruggling betwixt his ſyſtem, and his feelings of pain.

[4] *Raging fever.*]—In Gronovius, febri rabida; but it may be reaſonably doubted, whether Gellius did not write febri rapida; which expreſſion occurs in book xviii. chap. 10. —accedente febri rapida.

[5] *Inmoſt breaſt.*]—Similar to this is the expreſſion of Virgil:

Ingemuit, deditque has imo pectore voces.

Again,

Suſpirans, imoque trahens a pectore vocem.

See alſo Apuleius, page 5. the edition of Pricæus.

Imo de pectore cruciabilem ſuſpiritum ducens.

pain

pain he ſuffered, than his ſtruggles to overcome it. When Taurus had ſent for his phyſicians, and converſed with them on the means of cure, and had alſo encouraged the patient to ſupport his calamity, by mentioning the inſtances of his fortitude to which he had been witneſs, we returned to our carriage and companions. "You have ſeen," ſays Taurus, "no very pleaſant ſight indeed, yet one which is not without its uſe, a philoſopher contending with pain. The power and nature of the diſorder was what produced his anguiſh and torture of limbs, while the faculty and powers of his mind, which was equally their property, ſupported and reſtrained within bounds, the violence of an agony almoſt ungovernable. He allowed no loud groans, no complaints, no indecorous words to eſcape him; and yet (as you ſaw) there were manifeſt proofs of a conteſt between mind and body for the poſſeſſion of the man." Then a young man, a diſciple of Taurus, not ignorant of philoſophy, remarked, that, if ſuch is the bitterneſs of pain, that it ſtruggles againſt the will and the judgment, and compels a man involuntarily to utter groans, and to confeſs the evil of his violent diſorder, why is pain among the Stoics called a thing indifferent, and not an evil? How does it happen that a Stoic can be moved, or that pain can move him; ſince the Stoics affirm, that nothing can move them, and that a wiſe man is moved by nothing? To this Taurus replied, with a more cheerful countenance

(for he ſeemed pleaſed at being allured into the argument) "If our friend were in better health, he would defend the unavoidable complaints of this kind from calumny, and would, I dare ſay, reſolve your queſtion; but you know I am no great friend to the Stoics, or rather to their doctrine; for it often appears contradictory to its own tenets and to ours, as is proved in my treatiſe on the ſubject. But as my cuſtom is with you, I will ſpeak unlearnedly (as they call it) and at large, what, if any Stoic were preſent, I ſhould think it neceſſary to deliver in a more logical and ſtudied manner. For you know, I ſuppoſe, that old and common proverb, "ſpeak without ſtudy[6], and you make the ſubject clear." Then beginning upon the topic of pain, and the groans of the ſick Stoic, he thus proceeded: "Nature (ſays he) when ſhe produced us, implanted in thoſe firſt principles with which we were born, a love and affection for ourſelves, to ſuch a degree, that nothing is dearer or of greater concern to us than ourſelves. And this ſhe conſidered would be the ſource of perpetual preſer-

[6] *Without ſtudy.*]—This proverbial expreſſion is taken from Suidas, or rather perhaps from the frogs of Ariſtophanes. The correſponding proverb in Latin is much neater, though with preciſely the ſame meaning, rudius ac planius.

The interpretation of Eraſmus is far-fetched. It was cuſtomary, he obſerves, for the learned men of old to veil the myſteries of ſcience in dark and ænigmatical expreſſions. In the paſſage of Ariſtophanes referred to above, Bacchus reproaches Euripides with obſcurity.

vation to the human race, that every one, as ſoon as born, ſhould receive a knowledge of thoſe things, which are called by the ancient philoſophers, the principles of nature, ſo that he might delight in the things which are agreeable to his bodily ſyſtem, and ſhrink from thoſe which are otherwiſe. Afterwards, in the growth of age, reaſon ſprings from her ſeeds, with deliberation, the knowledge of juſtice, and one's real intereſt, with a wiſer and more balanced choice of advantages, while, above all the reſt, the dignity of virtue and propriety is ſo pre-eminent, that every outward object is deſpiſed which oppoſes our poſſeſſing and preſerving that quality. Nor is any thing eſteemed a real good, but what is honourable, nor any thing evil, but what is baſe. As for all other things of an indifferent nature, which are neither honourable nor diſgraceful, they are determined to be neither good nor evil. But things produced from, and bearing a relationſhip to other things, are diſtinguiſhed and divided by their own qualities, which the philoſophers call[7] προηγμενα and αποπροηγμενα. Therefore, pleaſure and pain, as far as each relates to the end of living well and happily, are eſteemed in-

[7] *Philoſophers call.*]—Primary and ſecondary cauſes. See Cicero, lib. iii. de Finibus. Laertius calls theſe principles προηγμενα and αποπροηγμενα, that is, proper objects of preference or rejection. See the ſubjects of the turpe et honeſtum, or vice and virtue, moſt agreeably diſcuſſed in the ſeventy-fourth epiſtle of Seneca.

different, and neither good nor evil. But ſince a man juſt born is endowed with theſe firſt ſenſations of pain and pleaſure, before his knowledge and his reaſon have appeared, and ſince he is by his nature attached to pleaſure, and averſe to pain, as to an enemy, therefore reaſon, which is given him afterwards, can ſcarcely pluck from him, or check or extinguiſh thoſe affections which are born with him, and have taken deep root: yet he contends with them for ever, reſtrains them when licentious, and compels them[3] to ſubmiſſion and obedience. Thence you behold a philoſopher, relying on the efficacy of his ſyſtem, enabled to ſtruggle with the violence of a raging diſorder; neither giving way to his complaint, nor expreſſing his pain, nor (as it frequently happens) groaning and lamenting, with exclamations upon his own miſery; but only utter-

[3] *Compels them.*]—It was a very different and far ſuperior philoſophy which Akenſide had in view, when he wrote the following animated lines:

> The immortal mind, ſuperior to his fate,
> Amid the outrage of external things,
> Firm as the ſolid baſe of this great world,
> Reſts on his own foundations. Blow, ye winds;
> Ye waves, ye thunders, roll your tempeſt on;
> Shake, ye old pillars of the marble ſky,
> Till all its orbs, and all its worlds of fire
> Be looſened from their ſeats, yet ſtill ſerene
> The unconquer'd mind looks down upon the wreck,
> &c. &c.

ing

ing ſhort breathings, and ſuch deep ſighs, as are proofs not of his being overcome and worn out with pain, but of his ſtruggles to oppreſs and ſubdue it. But I know not (ſays he) whether it may not be aſked, as to his ſtruggles and groans, that if pain be not an evil, why is it neceſſary to engage in thoſe ſtruggles, or give vent to thoſe groans? For all things, though not evil in themſelves, are however not deſtitute of inconvenience: but there are many things in themſelves great evils, and of private detriment, which are nevertheleſs not baſe; yet they are oppoſite and hoſtile to the gentleneſs and lenity of nature, by a certain myſterious but eſſential conſequence of its qualities. Theſe therefore a wiſe man can patiently endure, though he cannot make them participate the ſuperior qualities of his nature. For what they call apathy is not only in my opinion, but according to many of the moſt ſagacious of that ſect, as Panætius, a grave and learned man, diſapproved and rejected.

But why is a Stoic philoſopher, who they affirm can be compelled to nothing, obliged againſt his will to utter groans? Surely a wiſe man cannot be overcome, while he has an opportunity of uſing his reaſon. But when nature compels, reaſon, given by nature, is compelled alſo. You may aſk, if you pleaſe, why a man involuntarily winks his eyes, when another ſuddenly raiſes his hand before his face? why,

when the ſky is illuminated by a flaſh of light, a man involuntarily holds down his head? why, amidſt loud peals of thunder, does he feel terror? why does he ſtart, when any one ſneezes? why does he grow hot in the parching of the ſun, or cold in ſevere froſts? Theſe things, and many others, are neither under the guidance of inclination, wiſdom, nor reaſon, but are the decrees of nature and neceſſity. But that is not fortitude, which ſtrives againſt nature, like a prodigy, and ſteps beyond the uſual natural powers, either by an aſtoniſhing effort of the mind, or ſome act of fierceneſs, or ſome great and diſtreſſing exerciſe of the faculty in ſuffering pain; ſuch as we have heard of in a certain gladiator of Cæſar's, who was accuſtomed to laugh when his wounds were probed. But that is true and genuine fortitude, which our anceſtors called the power of diſtinguiſhing things ſupportable, from thoſe which are inſupportable; by which it appears, that ſome are intolerable things, from which men of fortitude may ſhrink, as neither to be engaged with nor ſupported." When Taurus had ſaid thus much, and ſeemed about to ſay yet more, we arrived at our carriages, and purſued our journey.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

What the Greeks call ænigma, *the ancient Latins call* ſerupos.

THAT ſpecies of compoſition, which ſome of our ancient authors called *ſcrupos* [1], the Greeks call *ænigma*; ſuch as that which we find in three verſes of ſix Iambic feet, of very ancient date, and of great wit. The ænigma we leave unexplained, that we may excite the conjectures of readers, in attempting to diſcover it. The lines are theſe:

" Semel [2], minuſne, an bis minus ſit, non ſat ſcio,
" An utrumque horum, ut quondam audivi dicier,
" Jovi ipſi regi noluit concedere!"

He

[1] *Scrupos.*]—This word is as frequently read ſcirpos, which means a ruſh without a knot—it is alſo read *ſirpus*, which is ſynonymous with *ſcirpos*. *Scrupos* is the ſame with *ſcrupus*, and ſignifies a little ſtone.

[2] *Semel*, &c.]—Literally thus: I do not well know whether he is once *minus* or twice *minus*, or both theſe, as I have formerly heard it ſaid, who would not give place to great Jove himſelf?

Both

He who is unwilling to puzzle himſelf about its meaning, will find what it is, by conſulting the ſecond book of Marcus Varro upon the Latin language, addreſſed to Marcellus.

Both theſe means three times *minus*, that is, in Latin, *Terminus*, the god of boundaries or limits.

The circumſtance of his not giving place to Jupiter, is thus introduced by Ovid, Faſti, l. ii.

Quid nova cum fierent capitolia, nempe deorum
Cuncta Jovi ceſſit turba, locumque dedit,
Terminus, ut memorant veteres, inventus in æde
Reſtitit et magno cum Jove templa tenet.

In honour of this Terminus there were annual feaſts at Rome, called *Terminalia*; and the tradition of his not giving way to Jupiter, was underſtood to imply the perpetuity of the Roman empire.

I remember to have ſeen ſome old monkiſh verſes, which had a ſimiliar play upon the word *ter:*

Domini Scropi hac in foſsâ
Tandem requieſcunt oſſa
En, en, en, &c.

Where en, en, en, mean *terrena.*

CHAP. VII.

Upon what occaſion Cnæus Dolabella[1]*, the proconſul, referred the trial of a woman accuſed of having given poiſon, and confeſſing the fact, to the court of the Areopagites.*

WHEN Cnæus Dolabella was proconſul in Aſia, a woman of Smyrna was brought before him. This woman had deſtroyed, at the ſame time, her huſband, and her ſon, by giving them poiſon; nor did ſhe deny the fact. She alledged as the cauſe of her having done ſo, that the huſband and ſon had by ſome artifice put to death another ſon of her's by a former huſband, an excellent and blameleſs youth. Nor was the truth of this fact diſputed. Dolabella referred the matter to his council. No one in ſo doubtful a point ventured to give his opinion, becauſe the acknowledgment of the crime, by which her huſband and ſon had been put to death, ſeemed to require puniſhment, yet it was juſtly perpe-

[1] *Cnæus Dolabella.*]—The ſame ſtory is told not only in Valerius Maximus, whom indeed Gellius quotes, but in Ammianus Marcellinus, book xxv. chap. 2. The commentators differ about this Dolabella, for though Gellius calls him Cnæus, he is by Valerius Maximus named Publius. Bayle, at the article Dolabella, enters at ſome length into this queſtion.

trated

trated upon very wicked men. Dolabella referred the matter to the Areopagites[2] at Athens, as judges of greater wiſdom and experience. The Areopagites being made acquainted with the nature of the cauſe, ſummoned the woman and her accuſer to appear at the period of an hundred years. By theſe means, neither was the act of adminiſtering poiſon pardoned, which would have been illegal, nor was the guilty woman condemned and puniſhed, for a crime, which was deemed pardonable. This ſtory is told in the eighth book of Valerius Maximus, on Memorable Sayings and Occurrences.

[2] *Areopagites.*]—It is unneceſſary to detain the reader on this ſubject of the Areopagites; but by way of reviving it in his recollection, I may be excuſed adding, that this tribunal was inſtituted by Cecrops; that it was confirmed in its juriſdiction by Solon; that its deciſions were highly revered; and that after it loſt its power, it retained its reputation.

A caſe not very unlike the one introduced in this chapter, is mentioned ſomewhere in Ariſtotle. A woman had a faithleſs lover, and agreeably to the old ſuperſtitions concerning the power of magic and incantations, ſhe adminiſtered a potion to him, which ſhe preſumed would reſtore him to her affections: unluckily he died in the operation. She was brought before the Areopagites, who being convinced that her intention was certainly not to deſtroy him, deferred paſſing any judgment on her crime. The Abbé Barthelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis, has collected many intereſting particulars concerning the court of Areopagus. The ſubject alſo is acutely and agreeably handled by Meurſius.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.[1]

Reconciliations between great men, worthy of record.

PUBLIUS AFRICANUS the Elder, and Tiberius Gracchus, the father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, men illuſtrious from their

[1] The fact recorded in the commencement of this chapter is to be found at length in Livy, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus. In Livy, Book xxxviii. c. 57.—in Plutarch, in the lives of the Gracchi—and in Valerius Maximus, book iv. c. 2. and 3.

The latter anecdote alſo is told by Valerius Maximus, Livy, and Cicero. See Valerius Maximus, book iv. c. 21. Livy, book xl. c. 45, 6. and in Cicero de Provinc. Conſul. 9.—Many parallel anecdotes might eaſily be collected from modern hiſtory, and indeed it ſeems to be one of the characteriſtics of a great and noble mind, to make all private and perſonal conſiderations give way to the public good. Two examples of public reconciliation occur in Shakeſpeare, one of which excites abhorrence, the other a ſmile. The firſt is in Richard the Third, when king Edward obliges the queen's relations, and Haſtings, Dorſet, &c. to be publicly reconciled, concerning which the king ſays to the duke of Glouceſter,—

> Brother, we have done deeds of charity,
> Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,
> Between theſe ſwelling, wrong incenſed peers.

The other is in Henry the Eighth, who is repreſented as compelling Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and others of his

their exploits, loaded with honours, and diſtinguiſhed by the purity of their lives, frequently diſagreed upon public affairs, and from that or ſome other reaſon were not united in friendſhip. Their ſecret diſlike of each other had long prevailed, till on the uſual day the feaſt of Jupiter was held, upon which occaſion the ſenate banqueted[1] in the capitol, and it happened that theſe two men were placed next each other at the ſame table. When, as if the immortal gods were arbiters in the quarrel, in the feaſt dedicated to Jupiter, joining their hands, they became immediately allied by the ſtrongeſt friendſhip; nor was that all, for alliance by relationſhip ſoon took place. Publius Scipio having a daughter that was now marriageable, betrothed her upon that ſame occaſion to Tiberius Gracchus, whom he had choſen and approved at a time when the judgment is moſt ſevere, namely, when he was at enmity with him. Æmilius Lepidus alſo,

his privy council, to embrace Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe ruin they had plotted—

> Make me no more ado, but all embrace him—
> Be friends—for ſhame, my lords.

There is ſomething extremely ludicrous in the repreſentation of this ſcene on the ſtage.

[1] *The ſenate banqueted.*]—*The jus epulandi publice* was peculiar to the ſenate. This took place on ſolemn feſtivals, and the ceremony was called *epulum Jovis*, or *cæna Dialis*. The ſenators were dreſſed on the occaſion in their ſenatorial robes, and the feaſt was celebrated ſometime in the month of November.

and

and Fulvius Flaccus, two men of illuſtrious birth, accumulated honours, and exalted ſtations, were oppoſed to each other, with bitter hatred, and long-indulged enmity. When the people made them cenſors at the ſame time, on being nominated by the herald, in the Campus Martius, before the aſſembly was diſperſed, each of them was united in attachment and embraces to the other. And from that day, during their cenſorſhips, and afterwards, they lived in the ſtricteſt and moſt friendly intimacy.

CHAP. IX.

Some words are of double meaning, and even the word honos *was ſo conſidered formerly.*

ONE may very often ſee and obſerve in old writers, many words which have now only one fixed meaning in our uſage of them, yet formerly had a ſenſe ſo indifferent and indeterminate, that they might bear two ſignifications contradictory to each other. Of which ſome are well known; as "*tempeſtas*[1], *valetudo*, *facinus*, *aolus*, *gratia*, *induſtria*." Theſe words almoſt every body knows bore a double ſignification, and were ſpoken either in a good or bad ſenſe. You will find by many examples, that *periculum*[2], *venenum*, and *contagium*, were not uſed as they are

[1] *Tempeſtas*,]—means a good or bad ſeaſon, *valetudo* good or bad health, *facinus* a good or bad action, *dolus* an act of wiſdom or low cunning, *gratia* a good or bad turn, and *induſtria* with care or with a miſchievous intention.

Muretus obſerves, at p. 83. of his Various Readings, that as the Latins uſed *honos* in an ambiguous ſenſe, ſo did the Greeks uſe ονειδος and κλεος, and he quotes two paſſages from Euripides in confirmation of his opinion. The expreſſion of αισχρον κλεος occurs in the Helen.

[2] *Periculum*,]—is uſed both for hazard and experiment, *venenum* is either poiſon or ſimple medicine, *contagium* is either infection or a contact, *a contingendo*.

now,

now, only in a bad ſenſe, and that the word *bonos* alſo had a middle ſignification, and was ſo uſed that *malus bonos* was the ſame as *injuria*, though this very ſeldom occurred. But Quintus Metellus Numidicus, in a ſpeech he delivered upon his triumph, has uſed theſe words: "In the ſame degree as all of you, O Romans, are of more conſequence than myſelf alone, ſo does he heap greater injury and diſgrace upon you, than upon me; and as honeſt men would rather receive than offer an inſult, ſo has he ſhewn worſe regard towards you than me. He wiſhes me to bear, and you to offer, an injuſtice. Thus with one party is left a ſubject of complaint, with the other diſgrace." This ſentence, he has ſhewn a worſe regard towards you than me, is expreſſed by *pejorem honorem*, and is the ſame as what he before ſays, he heaps a greater diſgrace upon you, than upon me. Beſides this uſage of the word, I thought proper to produce the ſentiment of Quintus Metellus, that we might determine it to be a decree of Socrates, which ſays,

Κακιον ειναι το αδικειν τε αδικεισθαι.

It is worſe to be unjuſt, than to ſuffer injuſtice[1].

[1] *Injuſtice.*]—The ſentiment here aſcribed to Socrates is taken from the Gorgias of Plato.

CHAP. X.

Meaning of the Latin word æditimus[1].

ÆDITIMUS is an old Latin word, formed like *finitimus* and *legitimus*. But inſtead of it the word *ædituus* is now uſed by many, from a new invented term, as if it were derived (a tuendis ædibus) from guarding the temples. This might be ſufficient to warn thoſe ignorant and furious diſputants, but that they are not to be reſtrained without authority. Marcus Varro, in his ſecond book addreſſed to Marcellus upon the Latin language, thinks we ought rather to uſe *æditimus* than *ædituus*, becauſe the latter is fabricated by late invention, the former pure from its ancient original. Lævius[2] alſo, I think, in his Proteſilaodamia, has uſed the word *clauſtritimus*, one who guards the gates, a word formed by the ſame proceſs as *æditimus*, one who guards the temples. In the moſt correct copies of Tully's ſpeech againſt Verres, I find it written "*æditimi cuſtodeſque maturè ſentiunt*," while in

[1] *Æditimus.*]—Conſult Varro and P. Feſtus concerning this word; ſome explain it, and I think not impertinently *ædis intimus.*

[2] *Lævius.*]—Some editions read Lævius, ſome Nævius, and others Livius.

the

the common books it is written *æditui*. There is a dramatic ſtory of Pomponius's, called *Æditimus*, in which this line appears,

Qui poſtquam tibi appareo atque *æditimos*[3] in templo tuo.

And Titus Lucretius[4], in his poem, inſtead of *æditуos*, calls the guards of the temple *æditуentes*.

[3] *Æditimos in templo tuo.*]—We have an expreſſion in our verſion of the Pſalms correſponding with this, and which may be offered properly enough as a tranſlation of it: "I had rather be a door-keeper in the houſe of my God."

[4] *Lucretius.*]—See Book vi. ver. 1271.

Oneratаque paſſim
Cuncta cadaveribus cæleſtum templa manebant;
Hoſpitibus loca quæ complerant *æditуentes*.

I do not think that Creech has given the full force of this paſſage: he renders it thus,—

Death now had filled the temples of the gods;
The prieſts themſelves, not beaſts, are the altar's load.

CHAP. XI.

They are miſtaken who commit ſins with the hope of remaining concealed, ſince there is no perpetual hiding-place for ſin.—The words of the philoſopher Peregrinus upon that ſubject, from a ſentiment of the poet Sophocles.

I SAW, when I was at Athens, a philoſopher named Peregrinus[1], and ſurnamed afterwards Proteus, a man of dignity and fortitude, who reſided in a little cottage without the city. As I uſed to go to him frequently, I heard from him many uſeful and excellent remarks, among which this is what I chiefly remember: He ſaid, "that a wiſe man would not be guilty of ſin, although gods and men were alike ignorant of it[2]." For

[1] The life of this Peregrinus is given by Lucian, and indeed a more extraordinary character never appeared on the world's great theatre. See what I have ſaid concerning him at chap. 3. book viii.

[2] *Ignorant of it.*—This accords with what is expreſſed in the lines—

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

It is ſurely a noble and charming ſentiment, though, as Gellius on a former occaſion has obſerved, it comes from an unworthy

For he thought a wiſe man ſhould avoid ſin, not from the fear of puniſhment or diſgrace, but from his ſenſe of duty, and love of virtue. But of thoſe who were not of ſuch a diſpoſition, or ſo taught, that they could eaſily reſtrain themſelves from ſin, by their own power and will, he thought they would be more readily induced to ſin, when they expected their guilt would be concealed, and that ſuch concealment would produce impunity. "But," ſays he, "if men know that nothing can be long concealed, they will ſin in a more guarded and ſecret manner. Wherefore,"

unworthy mouth. The idea of man being produced for the purpoſe of leading a life of wiſdom and virtue, in noble diſdain of ſenſual gratifications, is thus exquiſitively repreſented by Akenſide,—

Say, why was man ſo eminently rais'd
Amid the vaſt creation; why ordain'd
Thro' life and death to dart his piercing eye
With thoughts beyond the limit of his frame,
But that the omnipotent might ſend him forth,
In ſight of mortal and immortal powers,
As on a boundleſs theatre, to run
The great career of juſtice; to exalt
His generous aim to all diviner deeds;
To chaſe each partial purpoſe from his breaſt;
And thro' the miſts of paſſion and of ſenſe,
And thro' the toſſing tide of chance and pain,
To hold his courſe unfaltring, while the voice
Of truth and virtue, up the ſteep aſcent
Of nature, calls him to his high reward,
The applauding ſmile of heaven,

he added, " thoſe lines of Sophocles, the wiſeſt of poets, were worthy to be remembered—

Nor vainly think your ſkill can ought conceal,
Time, that knows all things, ſhall all truths reveal."

Another of the old poets, whoſe name I do not now recollect, has called Truth[3] the daughter of Time.

[3] *Truth, &c.*]—The Platoniſts conſidered truth as no leſs eſſential to the happineſs of man in a more elevated ſtate of being, than virtue. Indeed it cannot be very eaſy to conſider them as detached from each other. The ſame philoſophers, in a very beautiful allegory, called Truth the body of the ſupreme being, and Light his ſhadow. There is a fine paper in the Rambler, deſcribing the qualities and influence of Truth, Falſhood, and Fiction, where the moraliſt repreſents Truth to be the daughter of Jupiter and Wiſdom.

CHAP. XII.

The witty reply of Cicero, excuſing himſelf from the charge of a manifeſt falſhood. [1]

THIS too is one of the arts of rhetoric, that upon an attack it enables a man, with wit, to acknowledge the truth of an accuſation in ſuch a manner as to eſcape, by ſome jocular reply, the turpitude of that which cannot be denied, and to make the deed appear worthy rather of laughter than of ſerious cenſure. This, we are told, Cicero did, when, by an elegant and facetious turn, he did away that which he could not deny. He wanted to purchaſe a houſe upon the Palatine Mount, but had not the money; he received privately from Publius Sylla, who was then under a public accuſation [2], twenty thouſand ſeſterces. Before he made his purchaſe, this circumſtance became known to the public, and he was accuſed of having received money, for the purpoſe of buying the houſe, from an accuſed man. Cicero, ſur-

[1] Macrobius has given a collection of the jeſts of Cicero, which it is my intention to inſert in a future work.

[2] *Under accuſation.*]—Sylla was accuſed by L. Torquatus of being concerned in the Catilinarian conſpiracy. The oration which Cicero made in his defence yet remains.

prized by the ſudden reproach, denied the receipt of it, and profeſſed that he had no intention of making the purchaſe. "Therefore," ſays he, "let it be conſidered as a truth if I buy the houſe." Afterwards, however, when he *did* buy it, and this falſhood was objected to him in the ſenate by his opponents, he laughed heartily, and in the midſt of his doing ſo, "Why," ſays he, "you are deſtitute of common ſenſe [3], if you do not know that it is the part of a cautious and prudent maſter of a family to deny his intention of making any purchaſe, that he may prevent competitors in the ſale."

[3] *Common ſenſe.*]—In Gronovius it is ακοινονοητοι, without common ſenſe; but it is read in various editions ακοινωνητοι, which means *in communes*. See alſo H. Stephens at this paſſage—he would prefer ανοικομητοι, that is, ignorant of things relating to domeſtic matters, or of œconomy, in its literal acceptation. This is plauſible and ingenious.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII [1].

The meaning of the phraſe "intra calendas," *whether it ſignifies before the calends, or upon the calends, or both.—The meaning of the phraſe* "intra oceanum," *and* "intra montem Taurum," *in the ſpeech of Marcus Tullius, and the uſage of* "intra modum," *in a certain epiſtle.*

BEING appointed by the conſuls a judge extraordinary [2] at Rome, when I was to give judgment within the calends, I enquired of Apollinaris

[1] This is a very intricate and perplexing chapter; and I do not know that in my progreſs through Gellius I have met with any thing leſs eaſy to render in intelligible Engliſh. After all that I have done, many of my readers would perhaps have commended me, if I had followed the example of the French tranſlator, and omitted it altogether; but this would have been inconſiſtent with my plan and determination, to inſert every thing contained in my original. To ſay that the calends in the Roman chronology were the firſt day of the month, and that they were reckoned backwards, ſo that, for example, the laſt day of May was the ſecond of the calends of June, ſeems almoſt ſuperfluous.

The matter which Gellius wiſhed to have defined was, whether his duty allowed him to paſs judgment on the day of the calends only, or whether he was allowed the latitude of doing ſo before the actual day of the calends.

[2] *Judge extraordinary.*]—The circumſtance which Gellius here relates of himſelf is highly to his honour, as the Romans were

linaris Sulpitius, a man of learning, whether in the phraſe *intra calendas* (within the calends), the calends themſelves were included? I ſtated to him, that I was appointed judge, that the calends was the limit, and that I was to paſs judgment *intra eum diem.* "Why," ſays he, "do you enquire this of me, rather than of thoſe learned and ſtudious men [3], whoſe aſſiſtance you uſually rely upon in matters of law." To this I replied, "If I wanted information upon any matter of right eſtabliſhed or received, conteſted or ambiguous, new or ratified, I ſhould know that I muſt apply to thoſe whom you mention. But when the meaning, application, and reaſon of any Latin terms are to be examined, I ſhould be fooliſh [4] and blind indeed, if, having an opportunity

were remarkably tenacious of the character and talents of thoſe whom they appointed to ſituations ſo delicate and arduous. They were obliged to be of a certain age, and they could not enjoy this ſituation if they had been expelled the ſenate. The oath taken by each judge was, that he would decide according to his conſcience and the law. It ſhould ſeem by this and other ſimilar paſſages, that in any extraordinary caſes aſſiſtant judges were appointed.

[3] *Men.*]—The commentators are greatly at variance at this paſſage, ſome contending that it ſhould be read *peritis ſtudioſiſque viris*, others that it muſt be *peritis ſtudioſiſque juris.* Fortunately the nature of the Engliſh idiom has enabled me to render it in a manner which gives the force of both expreſſions.

[4] *Fooliſh.*]—The original is a very unuſual word, *ſcævus*, for which ſome would read *lævus*, as in Virgil, ſi mens non

læva

opportunity of conſulting you, I ſhould go to any other." "Hear then," ſays he, "my opinion of the word, but ſo that you may be impreſſed, not from my obſervation on its nature and meaning, but from what you have known and remarked to be its common acceptation. For not only the true and proper ſignifications of common words are changed by long uſage, but even the decrees of the laws themſelves become, by ſilent conſent, obſolete." He then ſpoke upon the ſubject in my hearing, and that of many others, nearly in this manner, "When the day," ſays he, "is ſo fixed, that the judge gives ſentence *(intra calendas)* within the calends, it occurs immediately to every one, that there is no doubt but, properly ſpeaking, it ſhould be *(ante calendas)* before the calends. It is only doubtful, whether the word calends, which you enquire about, be properly uſed. Now, without doubt, the word is ſo conſtituted, and has ſuch a ſignification, that when the phraſe *intra calendas* is uſed, it ought to be underſtood only as meaning the calends, and including no other day. For theſe three words, *intra*, *citra*, and *ultra*, by which certain boundaries of places are ſignified, by the ancients were contracted into ſingle ſyllables, as *in*, *cis*, *uls*. Since theſe

læva fuiſſet. *Scævus* comes from the Greek word σκαιος, which, as Turnebus obſerves, the Latins have borrowed, and made their own, interpoſiti digamma, by the interpoſition of the digamma. See his Adverſaria, L. 30. p. 691.

particles

particles were expreſſed rather obſcurely, from the brevity and tenuity of their ſound, to each of them was added the ſame ſyllable, and that which was called *cis Tiberim*[5], and *uls Tiberim*, began to be called *citra Tiberim*, and *ultra Tiberim*, and that which before was called *in*, by the addition of the ſame ſyllable, became *intra*. For he who ſays *intra oppidum*, *intra cubiculum*, *intra ferias* (within the town, &c.), means no more than *in oppido*, *in cubiculo*, *in feriis*. *Intra calendas* (within the calends) therefore does not mean *before* the calends, but *upon* the calends, that is, on the very day upon which the calends fall. So according to the meaning of the word itſelf, he who was ordered to pronounce any thing *intra calendas*, unleſs he were to do it on the calends, would not perform what his duty required. If he pronounces before, he cannot be ſaid to do it *intra* but *citra*. But I know not from what cauſe it is that the common abſurd acceptation of the phraſe ſhould prevail by which *intra calendas* (within the calends) ſeems to ſignify, either within the calends, or before the calends, which is exactly the ſame. It is moreover doubted, whether it could be done *ante calendas*, whereas it ſhould neither be beyond nor within, but what is betwixt both, *intra*, that is, on the calends. But cuſtom has got the better, which, as it governs every

[5] *Cis Tiberim.*]—Thus alſo it was a common mode of expreſſion at Rome to ſay, *cis Alpes*, and *trans Alpes*, for this ſide the Alps, and beyond them.

thing,

thing, has a particular influence on words[6]." When Apollinaris had thus learnedly and perſpicuouſly handled the argument, I made this reply, "I had intended, before I applied to you, diligently to enquire in what manner our anceſtors applied the particle in queſtion. I find that Cicero, in his third oration[7] againſt Verres, wrote thus: 'There is no place *(intra oceanum)* on this ſide the ocean, nor indeed ſo remote or inacceſſible, where, in theſe times, the injuſtice and licentiouſneſs of our countrymen, has not reached.' He ſays *intra oceanum*, contrary to your mode of reaſoning. He would not, I think, ſay, *in*

[6] *Influence on words.*]—The following extract from the preface of Mr. Nares to his Eſſay on Orthoepy ſeems pertinent in this place.

"The arbitrary caprice of faſhion, and the ſpirit of improvement miſdirected, are daily making changes in the ſtructure and ſound of language, which, though ſeparately inconſiderable, are, after ſome time, important in the total amount: and as the celeſtial ſigns had nearly changed their places before the ſlow but conſtant motion of the equinoxes was detected, ſo a language may have departed conſiderably from the fixed point of purity, and the harmony of its conſtruction may be materially injured, before thoſe minute changes, which affect only ſingle words or ſyllables, ſhall have attracted the public obſervation."

[7] *Third oration.*]—It is in the 89th chapter or diviſion. The inſertion of the paragraph preceding may make the preſent quotation more perſpicuous.

"All our provinces mourn and complain, every free nation remonſtrates againſt us, every kingdom of the globe exclaims againſt our avarice and injuſtice. There is no place, &c."

oceano.

oceano. He ſpeaks of all the regions which the ocean ſurrounds, and which our countrymen were able to approach, which cannot be interpreted by *in oceano*, though it may by *citra oceanum.* For he cannot be ſuppoſed to ſpeak of I know not what iſlands, which may be ſaid to be *in* the waters of the ocean." Then Sulpicius Apollinaris ſmilingly replied, "You have objected from Cicero with ſufficient acuteneſs; but Cicero has ſaid *intra*, and not as you interpret, *citra oceanum.* For what can be denominated *citra oceanum* (on this ſide of the ocean), when the ocean circumſcribes and ſurrounds all regions[8]? For that which is *citra* is *extra*, but how can *extra* be applied to that which is *intra?* But if the ocean were in one part of the earth alone, the land towards that part might be called *citra*, or *ante*, *oceanum.* But as the ocean ſurrounds the earth on every part, nothing is *citra*, on this ſide of it; for the earth in every limit being walled in by its waters, every thing included in its margin is within it. Thus the ſun moves not *citra cælum*[9], but *in cælo*, and *intra*

[8] Perhaps better in Engliſh; "For that which is on this ſide a thing is without its limits, and how can that be without which is within?"

[9] *Citra cælum.*]—That is, not on this ſide of the region of the ſky, but in or within it. The expreſſion is *vertitur*, which may be underſtood of the revolution of the ſun round its axis, though it is not probable that Cicero underſtood enough of the motion of the heavenly bodies ſo to apply it. Indeed, the philoſophy of his time acknowledged none but the ſyſtem which made the earth the fixed centre, round which the other planets moved in certain orbits.

cælum,

cælum, not on this ſide of the ſky but within it." Thus far Apollinaris ſeemed to reaſon with learning and acuteneſs. But afterwards, in the letters of Tully to Servius Sulpicius, I found *intra* applied to *modum*, as they ſay *intra calendas*, who mean to ſay *citra calendas*. Theſe are the words of Cicero [10], which I have added: "But yet, as I avoided giving him offence, who perhaps would have thought that if I had been perpetually ſilent, I ſhould ſeem to think that ours was not a republic, that I may ſatisfy both his will and my own feelings, I ſhall do this not only moderately, but *intra modum*." He had firſt ſaid *modice*, which means with an equable and temperate ſpirit, when, as if this expreſſion diſpleaſed him, and as willing to correct it, he added, or even *intra modum*. By which he ſignified, that he would do this leſs than he might have done even to have been thought moderate. That is, not all that moderation required, but a little on this ſide of it, or as it were, *citra modum*. In the oration which he

[10] *Cicero.*]—The paſſage occurs in the fourth book of Cicero's Familiar Letters, and in the fourth letter. The queſtion was, whether, on ſome occaſion or other, the ſenators ſhould publicly thank Cæſar, which ſome individuals at firſt, and Cicero for a time, refuſed to do. It ſeems from this quotation, and indeed from many places in the writers of that time, that it was cuſtomary for the ſenators to take opportunity of publicly thanking Cæſar for his moderation, clemency, magnanimity; this, however, ſays Cicero, "I ſhall do not only moderately, but even leſs than moderately, that is, very ſparingly indeed."

made for P. Seſtius [11], he ſays *intra montem Taurum*, that is, not on Mount Taurus, but as far as Mount Taurus, comprehending the mount itſelf alſo. Theſe are his words, from the oration juſt quoted:

"Our anceſtors obliged Antiochus the Great, whom in continued hoſtilities they overcame both by ſea and land, to confine his dominions *intra montem Taurum*. They took Aſia from him, and aſſigned it to Attalus for his empire."

They ordered him to confine his dominions *intra montem Taurum*, which does not mean, as we ſhould ſay, *intra cubiculum*, unleſs the term *intra montem* could be underſtood to apply to the countries which Mount Taurus by its poſition ſeparates. For as he who is *intra cubiculum* (in the chamber) is not in the walls of the chamber, but within the walls which incloſe the chamber, ſo he who reigns within Mount Taurus reigns not only on Mount Taurus, but over thoſe countries alſo of which Mount Taurus is the limit. According, therefore, to the analogy to be drawn from the words of Cicero, he who is directed to judge any thing *intra calendas*, may legally and properly do ſo both before the calends, and on the calends; nor is this by a certain privilege, as it were, of inveterate cuſtom, but by the rule of right reaſon, becauſe the

[11] *Seſtius*,]—or Publius Sextius. The place here quoted is in the 27th diviſion of the oration. *Intra montem Taurum* doubtleſs means the countries in the vicinity of Mount Taurus.

period of time which is included in the day of the calends may properly be termed *intra calendas* (within the calends).

CHAP. XIV.

Force and origin of the particle ſaltem [1].

WE were enquiring about the particle *ſaltem*, what was its original ſignification, and whence it was derived. It ſeems to have been

[1] *Saltem* is anciently written *ſaltim*; Heyne, however, who uſually prefers the old method of writing Latin, has, in his edition of Virgil, uſed *ſaltem*. See Æneid iv. ver. 327.

Saltem ſi qua mihi de te ſuſcepta fuiſſet
Ante fugam ſoboles.

See *ſaltem* uſed in a ſimilar ſenſe by Terence, Andria, act ii. ſcene 2. "*Saltem* accurato." So alſo Adelphi, act ii. ſcene 2. "*Saltem* quanti empta eſt, Syre." Donatus ſeems to incline to this abreviation of *ſaltem* from *ſalutem*, which he denominates το ἰσχατον, or the laſt thing, namely, life, which a captive entreats from his conqueror.

The curious reader may alſo ſee what Janus Gulielmius ſays on this ſubject, in his firſt book de Veriſimilibus. This critic obſerves, that the beſt of the ancient writers uſed *ſaltim*, which he thinks may be derived from the ſupine *ſaltu*, as *raptim* from *raptu*, *ſenſim* from *ſenſu*, *curſim* from *curſu*, &c.

been firſt formed, not like ſome of thoſe expletives of ſpeech which are aſſumed without any definite meaning, or attention to regularity. There was one preſent who ſaid he had read in the Grammatical Commentaries of Publius Nigidius, that *ſaltem* was formed from the phraſe "*ſi aliter*," which phraſe was elliptical, *ſi aliter non poteſt* forming the perfect ſentence. But I never met with this in the Commentaries of Nigidius, a book which I think I have read with ſome attention. However, theſe words *(ſi aliter non poteſt)* do not ſeem to be far diſtant[2] from the meaning of the word concerning which we are enquiring; but to include ſo many words in ſo very few letters, ſeems too minute and ſubtle a contrivance. There was alſo another man, well verſed in books and learning, who ſaid, that *ſal-*

He obſerves, that Priſcian, enumerating the adverbs terminating in *em*, makes no mention of *ſaltem*. Priſcian ſubjoins this remark:

"In *im* et denominativa inveniuntur, et verbalia, et participialia; ut a parte partim, a viro viritim, a vice viciſſim, a ſtatu ſtatim, a raptu raptim, a ſaltu ſaltim et ſaltuatim."

[2] *Far diſtant.*]—*Aberrare.* A learned and ingenious critic, in the fourth volume of Miſcellaneous Obſervations on Authors Ancient and Modern, propoſes to read *abhorrere*, which reading, he obſerves, has the authority of ſome manuſcripts. Gellius often uſes *abhorret* in this ſenſe. See l. x. c. 4.

"Quorum verborum ſignificatio a ſententia Salluſtii non *abhorret*." See alſo l. xvii. c. 13. "Motus oculorum a natura rei quam ſignificat non *abhorret*."

ſem

tem ſeemed to him formed by the omiſſion of the letter *u* in the middle, and that *ſalutem* was formerly ſpoken where we now ſay *ſaltem*. "For," ſays he, "when we have been requeſting many things in vain, then we are accuſtomed, as if making our laſt petition, which cannot be denied, to ſay, this *(ſaltem)* at leaſt ought to be done, or to be granted; as if at laſt aſking a favour which it is very reaſonable both to require and to grant." But this, although ingenious and pleaſant enough, ſeems too far-fetched; I therefore thought it a ſubject worthy of further inveſtigation.

CHAP. XV.

That Siſenna, in his Hiſtorical Records, has frequently uſed ſuch adverbs as celatim, velitatim, ſaltuatim.

HAVING often read Siſenna's hiſtory, I obſerved in his compoſition the frequent occurrence of ſuch adverbs as theſe, namely, *curſim*[1], *properatim*, *celatim*, *velitatim*, *ſaltuatim*, the

[1] *Curſim.*]—*Curſim* may be rendered in a curſory manner, *properatim* in a haſty manner, *celatim* in a private manner, *velitatim* in a ſkirmiſhing manner, *ſaltuatim* in a deſultory manner.

Quintus Carolus enumerates many other adverbs in *im*, ſuch as *examiſſim*, *unciatim*, *alternatim*, &c.

two

two firſt of which, being more common, do not require to be illuſtrated by examples; the others are thus introduced in the ſixth book of his hiſtory: "He placed his men in ambuſcade, (quam maxime *celatim* poterat) in as ſecret a manner as he could." So in another place, "Having paſſed one ſummer in Aſia and Greece, in purſuit of literature, I wrote my hiſtory in a regular ſtyle, leſt by expreſſing myſelf in a ſkirmiſhing[a] or deſultory manner I ſhould burthen the minds of my readers."

[a] *Skirmiſhing.*]—Vellicatim et ſaltuatim.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

H.M.

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